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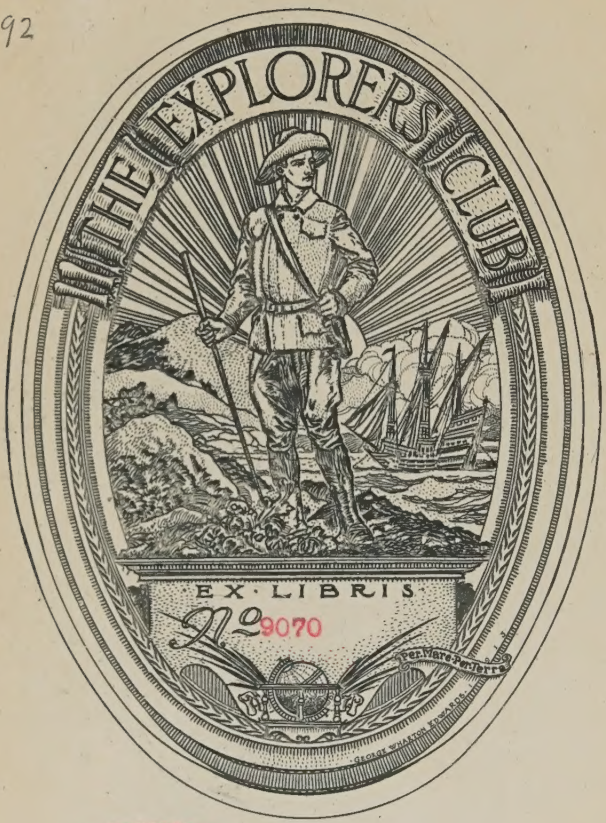

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JOURNALS OF LA VÉRENDRYE

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JOURNALS AND LETTERS OF PIERRE GAULTIER DE VARENNES DE LA VÉRENDRYE AND HIS SONS

WITH CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE GOVERNORS OF CANADA AND THE FRENCH COURT, TOUCHING THE SEARCH FOR THE WESTERN SEA

EDITED
WITH INTRODUCTION
AND NOTES
BY

LAWRENCE J. BURPEE

TORONTO
THE CHAMPLAIN SOCIETY
1927

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PREFACE

The Editor wishes to take this opportunity of acknowledging his indebtedness to the late Dr. W. D. LeSueur, of Ottawa, who made the admirable translation of the Journals and other documents now published ; also to Dr. A. G. Doughty, of the Public Archives, the late Dr. Benjamin Sulte, of Ottawa, Mr. Régis Roy, of Ottawa, Mr. James White, of Ottawa, the late Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites, of the Wisconsin Historical Society, the late Dr. D. B. Dowling, of Ottawa, Mr. Doane Robinson, of the State Historical Society of South Dakota, and others who have helped him materially with advice and information. He is also under obligations to Mr. H. H. Langton, of Toronto, and Mr. Jules Tremblay, of Ottawa, who were good enough to assist him in reading respectively the proofs of the English and French texts. Mr. Langton also prepared the Index. Most of this work was done before the War, and in the interval four of those whose assistance was most generous have departed this life, leaving behind them a legacy of scholarly achievement for which we must always hold them in grateful remembrance.

Ottawa, February 1926.

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V. LA VÉRENDRYE—MAPS

1. Carte copiée sur celle qui a été tracée par le Sauvage Ochagach et autres, comprenant la région des Grands lacs, depuis la ' Montagne de Pierres brillantes ' jusqu'au Poste de Kamanestigovia près du lac Supérieur. No. 16 in Bellin, *Recueil de cartes et plans de l'Amérique septentrionale, dressées sur les manuscrits du Dépôt des cartes, plans et journaux de la Marine*, 1743. Reduced and published by Philippe Buache, on same sheet as his *Carte Physique*, 1754. Also in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, vol. xvii, p. 103. Copy of original in the Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago. Also in the Kohl Collection, Library of Congress, Washington. No. 84 in Bellin, *ibid.*, is a reduced copy of above.

2. Carte contenant les nouvelles découvertes de l'Ouest, en Canada, mers, rivières, lacs et nations qui y habitent, en l'année 1737. Joint à la lettre de M. de Beauharnois du 14 Octobre 1737. Copy in Library of Parliament, Ottawa ; and another in Dominion Archives, Ottawa ; latter from one in Archives of Laval University.

3. Carte d'une partie du lac Supérieur, avec la découverte de la rivière depuis le grand portage A jusqu'à la barriere B, le fort St-Charles est construit dans le lac des Bois, et dans le lac Tekamamwien au fort qui porte le nom du lac. Dressée par M. de La Jemeray. No. 85 in Bellin, *ibid.* Reproduced in Morice, *History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada.* A portion of this map may have been by La Jemeraye, but much of the information it contains could only have been acquired after his death in 1735. Copy in Ayer Collection, Newberry Library. Copy also in Dominion Archives, from one in Archives of Laval University. This, and the 1737 map, were copied by L. P. Morin from

originals in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, for Laval University, about 1852.

4. Carte d'une partie du Lac Superieur, avec la découverte de la rivière depuis le Grand Portage, jusqu'au Lac des Bois, et de là jusqu'au Missouri, dressée par M. de la Gemeraye. ça 1740. Copy in Library of Parliament. Here, also, additions must have been made after La Jemeraye's death.

5. Carte d'une partie du Lac Superieur avec la Découverte de La Rivière depuis le Grand Portage A jusqu'au Lac Ouinipigon, ou on a construit le fort Maurepas. Copy in Ayer Collection, Newberry Library.

6. Carte des nouvelles découvertes dans l'ouest du Canada ; dressée, dit-on, sur les Mémoires de M. de la Véranderie, mais fort imparfaite, à ce qu'il m'a dit. (La Galissonnière.) No. 19 in Bellin, *ibid.* No. 37 in Marcel, *Reproductions de cartes et de globes relatifs à la découverte de l'Amérique du XVIe au XVIIe siècle.* Copy in the Kohl Collection.

7. Carte des nouvelles découvertes dans l'ouest du Canada ; dressée, dit-on, sur les mémoires de M. de La Véranderie, mais fort imparfaite à ce qu'il m'a dit . . . Donnée au Dépot par M. de La Galissonnière, en 1750. Pencil note on map, presumably by Galissonnière, ' J'en ay tiré cette copie.' Reproduced in Lindsey, *Investigation of the Unsettled Boundaries of Ontario.* No. 20 in Bellin, *ibid.* Copy in the Kohl Collection.

8. Carte des nouvelles découvertes dans l'ouest du Canada ; dressée suivant les mémoires de Monsieur de Laverandrie. No. 22 in Bellin, *ibid.*

9. Carte contenant les nouvelles découvertes de l'ouest en Canada, lacs, rivières, et nations qui y habitent. En l'année 1740. No. 23 in Bellin, *ibid.*

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JOURNALS AND LETTERS OF PIERRE GAULTIER DE VARENNES DE LA VÉRENDRYE AND HIS SONS

INTRODUCTION

Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, Sieur de la Vérendrye, was born in the town of Three Rivers, in what is now the Province of Quebec, on November 17, 1685. His father was René Gaultier, Sieur de Varennes, at that time governor of Three Rivers, an office ranking in importance after that of governor of Montreal. Pierre was the fourth son, and the eighth of ten children.[1] He had for godfather Pierre Boucher, his maternal grandfather, a former governor of the town, and author of a brief but interesting history of New France. Boucher had also, nearly a quarter of a century before, acted as godfather to another child destined to leave his mark upon Canadian history, Pierre Le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville.

Of the early days of the future explorer of the great North-West we know very little. His home, a fairly large wooden house, stood on the north-west outskirts of the town,

[1] The eldest, Louis, born 1673, served in the army, and died in Europe some time after 1714; the second, Jean-Baptiste, born 1677, entered the priesthood, and died 1726; his twin brother, Jacques-René, succeeded his father as seigneur of Varennes, and left children whose descendants are said to be living in Quebec to-day. Tanguay mentions two younger sons, born 1687 and 1688, who died in infancy. Of the daughters, Madeleine, born 1674, became seigneuress of Tremblay, near Varennes; Marguerite, born 1680, married Louis Hingue; Marie Renée, born 1682, was the mother of La Jemeraye, who ably seconded his uncle Pierre in his western explorations; and Anne, born 1684, became an Ursuline nun at Quebec.

just beyond the palisades. Up to the age of twelve, when he became a cadet, he no doubt lived the normal life of a boy, learning some things in school and a good many out of it, falling into scrapes and falling out of them again, making friends and perhaps enemies, listening, it may be, to the adventurous tales of fur-traders and coureurs-de-bois, and thus cultivating the instincts of the wanderer, together with the nobler impulse to accomplish something that might add to the honour and glory of his native country.

Those who have read Gaspé's entertaining romance, 'Les Anciens Canadiens,' and remember his graphic pictures of the home and home-life of a Canadian seigneur, can readily reproduce for themselves the daily life of Pierre and his numerous brothers and sisters, in the little town by the banks of the Saint-Maurice. No doubt there was a reasonable share of comfort in the home of the Gaultiers, but it is improbable, even in the lifetime of their father, that there was anything resembling luxury. The gentry of New France lived simply, and even if they did not, the governor of Three Rivers, though a man of some importance in the colony, had to maintain a large family and the dignity of his position on a very meagre salary.[1] When he died, in 1689, his widow must have had an even more difficult task to make both ends meet.

Pierre, as already mentioned, entered the army in 1697. It is said that he took part in the expedition of 1704 against New England, under Hertel de Rouville, and in that case was no doubt present at the capture of Deerfield, the tragic incidents of which are so vividly described by Parkman in 'A Half-Century of Conflict.' The following year he accompanied Subercase in the Newfoundland campaign. La Vérendrye himself, in a memoir as to his military services, dated February 15, 1712, says that he had already served

[1] Twelve hundred francs, perhaps equal in purchasing value to 1500 before the war.

through three campaigns in Canada with parties sent against the English.

Late in the autumn of 1707 he sailed for France, obtained a lieutenancy in the Regiment of Bretagne, and served with it through three campaigns. From the memoir above mentioned we learn that 'at the battle of Malplaquet he received four sabre wounds and one bullet wound through the body, and was a prisoner of war for fifteen months.' Pierre Margry, in his series of articles in the *Moniteur*, 1852, on 'Les Varennes de Vérandrye,' says that he 'received nine wounds, from which he recovered contrary to every hope, after having been left as dead upon the battle-field.'

It being impossible for an officer of no private fortune to maintain himself in the army in France, La Vérendrye returned to Canada in 1711, and in the memoir of February 1712 he asks for an ensigncy in the troops kept on foot by His Majesty in Canada, offering to raise recruits for service in the colony. This inferior rank was granted to him, partly, according to Margry, on the recommendation of the Marquise de Vaudreuil, wife of the then governor of Canada. Walker's inglorious expedition of 1711, however, was followed by a lull in the hostilities between New France and New England, and La Vérendrye turned his attention to more peaceful pursuits.

Before leaving Canada he had adopted the name of his elder brother Louis, La Vérendrye—having up to that time been known as Pierre de Boumois. At Quebec in the autumn of 1712 he married Marie-Anne Dandonneau Du Sablé. He obtained from the governor permission to establish a small trading post on his property of La Gabelle, near Three Rivers, and there he spent several years of quiet married life. His eldest son, Jean-Baptiste, was born at Sorel, in 1713. Three others followed in rapid succession: Pierre, born in 1714; François, in 1715; and the youngest, Louis-Joseph, in 1717.

The responsibilities of a growing family presently brought home to La Vérendrye the need of seeking more remunerative employment, and he sought and obtained from the governor the command of the trading posts on Lake Nipigon. It is altogether probable that, beyond the practical incentive, other motives helped to drag La Vérendrye from his quiet home and lead him into unfamiliar paths. He was essentially a man of action, and the new command offered enticing possibilities. Lake Nipigon was on the very confines of the known world of New France; all beyond was little else but conjecture. There were rumours that the long-sought Western Sea might be reached from Lake Superior. To such a man—a born explorer—the appeal must have been irresistible.

The project of finding a way overland to the Western Sea dates back to the very beginnings of Canada. Like a will-o'-the-wisp, the goal receded always a little beyond the reach of those who sought it so eagerly. As the tide of discovery spread ever farther to the westward, theories as to the position of the elusive Sea had to be revised from time to time. Interest in it waxed and waned; the search was sometimes followed eagerly, then dropped for a time, as matters of more immediate concern intervened, but never altogether abandoned. For some years previous to 1727–28, when La Vérendrye was stationed on Lake Nipigon, the project had been revived and widely discussed, although the discussions had not yet led to any very practical results. Margry says:

'The discovery of a passage through the interior to the *Grand Océan* and by that to China, which was proposed by our officers under Henry IV, Louis XIII, and Louis XIV, had been taken up with renewed ardour during the Regency. Memorial upon memorial had been presented to the *Conseil de Marine*, respecting the advisability and the advantages of making this discovery. Indeed the Père de Charlevoix

was sent to America, and made his great journey from the north to the south of New France, for the purpose of reliably informing the council as to the most suitable route to pursue in order to reach the Western Sea. But the ardour which, during the life of Philip of Orleans, animated the Government regarding the exploration of the west, became feeble and at length threatened to be totally extinguished, without any benefit derived from the posts which had been established in the country of the Sioux and at Kamanistigoya. . . .

'The Regent, in choosing between the two plans that Father Charlevoix presented to him at the close of his journey for the attainment of a knowledge of the Western Sea, through an unfortunate prudence, rejected the plan which, it is true, was the most expensive and uncertain—an expedition up the Missouri to its source and beyond—and decided to establish a post amongst the Sioux. The Regent thus set aside the scheme which afterwards led Lewis and Clark to the Columbia; but he thought that by the establishment of this post more certain accounts than those already to hand would be obtained respecting the route to the *Grand Océan*, and that then would be the time to incur the expense of the exploration. The post of the Sioux was consequently established in 1727 by Boucher de Montbrun and Father Guignas.'

In 1728 Father Gonner, who had been sent with Father Guignas as a missionary to the Sioux, came down from fort Beauharnois—the post of the Sioux—to Michilimackinac, on his way to Quebec. At Michilimackinac he met La Vérendrye, full of a new project for the discovery of the Western Sea. At his posts on Lake Nipigon he had conversed with certain Indians who gave him a circumstantial account of a great river flowing to the westward and emptying into the sea. In Gonner he found a congenial spirit, almost as interested as himself in the furtherance of western discovery, and clear-headed enough to weigh the advantages of a route through the country of the Cree and Assiniboin

against those of the projected route through the land of the Sioux.

Gonner had been convinced during his stay at fort Beauharnois that the latter scheme was impracticable, and readily fell in with La Vérendrye's proposals as to a more northerly route. 'This was also,' he wrote, 'the sentiment of Father Guignas, whom I have often heard say that it was a vain endeavour to seek through the Sioux a path to the Western Sea.' La Vérendrye had prepared a memoir setting forth the information he had obtained from the Indians, and outlining his project for western discovery, and this memoir he confided to Gonner, who undertook to support it with the governor. He not only did this, but he also prepared and submitted a memoir of his own, 'Relation d'une grande rivière qui a flux et reflux, présentée par le père Goner, Jésuite missionaire des Sioux, 3 Novembre, 1728.'

Before outlining La Vérendrye's own efforts to solve the problem of an overland route to the Pacific, it may be convenient here to describe briefly the journeys of the only white travellers who are known to have preceded him over a small portion of the route he was to follow.

The first of these explorers was Jacques de Noyon, like La Vérendrye a native of Three Rivers, where he was born in 1668. About the year 1688, Noyon had made a journey from Kaministikwia to Lake of the Woods, a description of which is contained in a memoir of the Intendant Begon, dated November 12, 1716. Noyon's route was by way of the Kaministikwia river, Dog lake and river, Height-of-Land lake, Lac des Mille Lacs, Seine river, to Rainy lake, or Lac des Cristinaux as it was then called. At the western end of this lake he built a small fort and spent the winter.

The following spring he appears to have descended the Ouchichig river (Rainy river) to Lac des Assiniboiles (Lake of the Woods). From the Indians Noyon learned that at the extremity of Lac des Assiniboiles was a river which emptied

its waters into the Western Sea. That river was no doubt the Winnipeg, and the 'Western Sea' Lake Winnipeg.[1] The Indians offered to conduct him to the sea, and tried to fire his ambition with glowing descriptions of walled cities, white and bearded people, ships and cannon, but there is no evidence that the explorer went farther than Lake of the Woods.

In 1717 Zacharie Robutel de la Nouë was sent from Montreal to establish three posts as bases for the discovery of the *Mer de l'Ouest*, the first at Kaministikwia, the second on Rainy lake, and the third on Lake of the Woods. The plan was to assemble a party of fifty Canadian voyageurs under a competent leader, with Indian guides, and make a determined effort to reach the sea overland. Two years were allowed for the discovery, and the expense was estimated at fifty thousand livres.

La Nouë reached the mouth of the Kaministikwia in the autumn of 1717, and built a small stockaded fort. He is also said to have established a small post on Rainy lake. Beyond that he does not appear to have gone, and the ambitious project came to an inglorious end. Further details of these tentative efforts toward western discovery will be found in Prud'homme's article on La Vérendrye in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 1905, and in the present editor's 'Search for the Western Sea' (London, 1908).

Five years after La Nouë's expedition, an officer named Pachot writes that the road which was then thought the most favourable for penetrating the west was by way of a small river named Nantokouagane, 'about seven leagues from Kaministigoya.' This was evidently Pigeon river, and is memorable as the first mention of the Grand Portage route. Reference may conveniently be made here, also, to Father Bobé's 'Memoir for the Discovery of the Western Sea, 1718,' and Charlevoix's Memoir of 1723 ('Search for the Western Sea,' pp. 202–209).

[1] See, however, foot-note on p. 44.

La Vérendrye came down to Quebec in 1730 and had an interview with the governor, Beauharnois, before whom he laid a further memoir touching his plans for western discovery, and a map drawn by the Indian Auchagah or Ochagach, both of which will be found in this volume. Beauharnois gave sympathetic consideration to the project, and authorized him, as a means to the end, to establish a post in the west as a base for his discoveries. La Vérendrye, knowing the difficulties of the undertaking, and having little means of his own, asked for financial assistance, but the king, to whom the matter had been reported, would only consent to a monopoly of the fur-trade, which it was supposed would yield the explorer sufficient profit to cover the cost of his expedition.

Obviously if La Vérendrye were to be burdened with the anxieties and responsibilities of a fur-trader, his search for the Western Sea must be slow and unsatisfactory. What he desired was financial assistance to enable him to equip a party of men accustomed to the hardships of wilderness travel, and with these he had every hope of pushing his discovery to a successful conclusion. This had been the plan approved by the Court thirteen years before, but in 1730 Louis XV had other uses for his money nearer home.

Finding that there was no hope of anything better than a monopoly of the fur-trade, La Vérendrye in May 1731 entered into partnership with certain merchants of Montreal, who agreed to advance goods and equipment in consideration of a large share in the profits of the trading posts. Some idea of the difficulties into which this arrangement threw him will be gained from a perusal of the documents published in the Appendix.

Leaving Montreal on June 8, with three of his sons, Jean-Baptiste, Pierre, and François, and his nephew La Jemeraye, the explorer reached Michilimackinac, where he was joined by Father Mesaiger, who was to act as chaplain

and missionary. Coasting around Lake Superior, the party arrived at Grand Portage on August 26, without misadventure. Here, however, La Vérendrye had trouble with his men, who showed a mutinous spirit when confronted with the long series of portages into the interior. Finally, as a compromise, he sent La Jemeraye with a small party to build a fort on Rainy lake, while the remainder wintered at Kaministikwia.

In the spring of 1732 La Vérendrye rejoined La Jemeraye at the new post, fort St. Pierre, and the united expedition pushed on to Lake of the Woods, where fort St. Charles was built, on the south shore of what many years later was to become famous as the North-west Angle. Beauharnois describes this fort as measuring one hundred feet square with four bastions ; there was a house for the missionary, a chapel, a house for the commandant, four main buildings with chimneys, a powder magazine, and a store-house. The fort was surrounded with a double row of stakes, fifteen feet high, and had two gates and a watch-tower. Having completed his fort, La Vérendrye cleared the land near it and sowed it with wheat. Wild rice grew in abundance, and fish and game were plentiful, so that there was no anxiety as to provisioning the expedition while it remained at fort St. Charles.

A site was found in 1733 for another fort near the mouth of Red river, but this does not appear to have been actually built until the following year. It was named Maurepas, after the Minister for the Colonies, and was afterwards removed to the mouth of Winnipeg river. In 1734 La Vérendrye went down to Quebec to report progress to the governor, and on his return to fort St. Charles the following spring he brought with him his youngest son, Louis-Joseph. The father and his four sons were now all engaged in the enterprise.

The year 1736 was unfortunate for La Vérendrye. La Jemeraye died early in the year, and in June the eldest son of the explorer, with the missionary Aulneau and a party

of men, were murdered by the Sioux on an island in Lake of the Woods. This double blow, by which he lost his two most capable and experienced lieutenants, the difficulty he experienced in keeping peace among the tribes, so essential to the success of his expedition, and the harassing details of the fur-trade, kept him from making rapid progress in his exploration. In 1738, however, we find him building fort La Reine on the Assiniboine, about where the town of Portage-la-Prairie now stands, and likewise making a memorable journey across the plains to the Mandan villages on the Missouri.

Of the Mandan La Vérendrye had been hearing, through the Cree and Assiniboin, almost from the time of his first entry into the west, and all that he heard tended to excite his interest and curiosity, and to make him determined to visit them in person. He was persuaded, from what the Indians said, that they must be either whites or an unknown race enjoying a degree of civilization far beyond anything found among other of the Indian tribes.

The accounts of the Assiniboin were in fact a curious medley of truth and fiction, a fairly complete description of the actual manners and customs of the Mandan, embroidered with figments of their own imagination. La Vérendrye, when he had actually visited the Mandan, somewhat unreasonably reproached the Assiniboin with having wilfully deceived him. But their only deception was in exaggeration, such as may often be noticed in the descriptions given by an imaginative child. They were incapable of telling a plain unvarnished tale.

While the point is perhaps debatable, it is assumed here that the tribe which La Vérendrye visited on the Missouri was that of the Mandan. Mr. O. G. Libby, Secretary of the State Historical Society of North Dakota, has argued very ingeniously that La Vérendrye did not visit the Mandan, but the Hidatsa or Gros Ventres, who, like the Mandan,

lived in earth lodges, and whose manners and customs were in many respects similar to those of the Mandan. The question involves too many considerations, historical, geographical and ethnological, to be entered into here, but it cannot be said that Mr. Libby has conclusively proved his case, and that the tribe La Vérendrye names Mandan were not the true Mandan.

Assuming, then, that the tribe visited by La Vérendrye in 1738–39 was the Mandan, it may be worth while to refer briefly to later visits to this most interesting branch of the Indian race. John McDonnell, in his 'Account of the Red River, 1793–97,' published in Masson's 'Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest,' vol. i. (Quebec, 1889), says that 'these Indians live in settled villages, fortified with palisades, which they seldom ever abandon, and they are the best husbandmen in the whole North-West. They raise indian corn or maize, beans, pumpkins, squashes in considerable quantity, not only sufficient to supply their own wants, with the help of the buffalo, but also to sell and give away to all strangers that enter their villages. They are the mildest and most honest Indians upon the whole continent, and, withal, very fond of the white people.'

In his Journal, under date of December 10, 1793, he mentions the return of a party of independent fur-traders from the Missouri; and again in May 1795 he notes the arrival of 'Jussome and the Mandan men with their returns . . . all but Jos. Dubé, who deserted from the rest and staid with the Indians of the Missouri.' René Jussaume was a rather notorious character, whom Lewis and Clark afterward employed as interpreter.

The first visit, however, to the Mandan after La Vérendrye by an educated traveller was that of David Thompson, astronomer to the North West Company. Thompson made a journey to the Missouri in 1797–98, an account of which is given in his unpublished Journals, now in the Archives of

Ontario at Toronto, and in his autobiographical narrative published by the Champlain Society in 1916. Brief summaries of the journey will be found in a footnote in Coues' edition of the Henry-Thompson Journals ('New Light on the Early History of the Greater North West,' New York, 1897) i, 301–02, and in the 'Search for the Western Sea,' chap. viii.

The first decade of the nineteenth century witnessed several expeditions to the Mandan, by Larocque, Mackenzie, Henry, and Lewis and Clark. F. A. Larocque's 'Missouri Journal, 1804–05,' and Charles Mackenzie's 'Mississouri Indians, 1804–06,' are found in Masson's 'Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest,' vol. i.; Alexander Henry's journey, 1806, is described in his Journals, edited by Coues ('New Light, etc.'). Lewis and Clark wintered among the Mandan in 1804–05. All these journals are valuable in the light they throw upon the Mandan, their character and customs, at a period when they had been very little influenced by contact with white men.

Of later visits to the Mandan, Brackenridge and Bradbury came in 1810. The former afterwards published an account of his journey in 'Journal of a Voyage up the River Missouri' (Baltimore, 1816), and the latter in 'Travels in the Interior of America' (London, 1819). George Catlin visited the same tribe in 1833 (see his 'North American Indians,' London, 1841). Prince Maximilian of Wied wintered on the Missouri in 1832–34, and has left, in his 'Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Amérique du Nord' (Paris, 1839–43), by all odds the best account of the Mandan.

Interested as La Vérendrye undoubtedly was in the Mandan themselves, his principal object in visiting the tribe was to obtain what information they could give which might throw some light upon the route to the Western Sea. It was a matter of keen disappointment to him, therefore, that, through the desertion of his interpreter, he was left

with no effective means of questioning them as to the country and tribes to the westward of their villages. When he finally took leave of them to return to fort La Reine, he left behind two of his men to winter with the Mandan, pick up their language, and learn as much as possible in regard to the region beyond. Nothing of any moment, however, came of this experiment, and for two or three years little progress was made except in the exploration of the lake country north of the Assiniboine.

In 1742 two of the sons of La Vérendrye, Louis-Joseph the Chevalier[1] and François, set out from fort La Reine in a determined effort to reach the Western Sea. Their father remained behind, partly because of ill-health, partly to keep an eye on the Assiniboin and Cree, who might at any time cut off his communications with the east and destroy the whole enterprise by a general war with the Sioux. The sons left fort La Reine on April 29, and arrived among the Mandan after a journey of twenty days. They remained on the banks of the Missouri until July 23, awaiting the arrival of a band of strange Indians from the south-west, referred to as the Gens des Chevaux, whom Parkman conjectures to have been the Cheyenne.

As the expected Indians did not arrive, and the season was advancing, the explorers decided to lose no more

[1] A controversy has recently been entered into as to the identity of that particular son of La Vérendrye who was known as the Chevalier. In the past it has been generally assumed that Pierre was the Chevalier, probably because he was the eldest of the surviving sons. In an article in *Le Canada Français*, vol. ii, No. 2, 109–17, Mr. A. H. De Trémaudan maintains very ingeniously that the Chevalier was the third son, François, that the journeys of 1738–39 and of 1742–43 were made by François and Louis and not by Pierre and François, and that the only journey made by Pierre was that of 1741. In an article in the same periodical, vol. ii, No. 3, 170–82, Abbé Ivanhoe Caron rejects both Pierre and François, and maintains that the youngest son, Louis-Joseph, was the Chevalier. Mr. De Trémaudan replies to Abbé Caron in vol. ii, No. 4, 286–93; and in the *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. i, No. 3. Mr. Ægidius Fauteux in the *Bulletin des recherches historiques*, xxiii, 244, offers documentary evidence that Louis-Joseph was the Chevalier. The question is still unsettled, but the balance of proof points to Louis-Joseph.

time, and set out on foot with a couple of Mandan guides. Their course for twenty days was west-south-west. On August 2 they came to what they call the Mountain of the Gens des Chevaux, where they camped for a time, lighting signal fires to attract the attention of any bands who might be in the neighbourhood. Here they remained until September 14, when smoke was seen to the south-south-west. It turned out to proceed from the camp of a party of Beaux Hommes—probably Crow—who agreed to conduct the French to the Gens des Chevaux. It was not, however, until October 9 that the expedition was again on the move. Meantime both the Mandan had returned to the Missouri.

The course was still apparently in a general south-westerly direction—to the disappointment of the La Vérendryes, who felt that this did not promise well for the success of their quest. In the course of their journey they came across parties of other strange Indians, mentioned as Petits Renards and Pioya. Dr. Thwaites suggests that the latter were perhaps a band of the Kiowa, a tribe of the plains allied to the Comanche. On October 19 they came at last to a village of the Gens des Chevaux, who ' were in great distress, nothing but tears and groans, all their villages having been destroyed by the Gens du Serpent.'

This warlike tribe—variously identified as the Shoshoni and the Kiowa—seems to have borne much the same relation to its neighbours as the Sioux or the Iroquois. Their hand was against everybody, and, so far as the terror of their name permitted, everybody's hand was against them. They ' do not content themselves in a campaign with destroying a village, according to the custom of other savages; they keep up the war from spring to autumn, and woe to those who cross their path!' Inquiry was made of the Gens des Chevaux as to the western coast and its inhabitants. They had never been there, the country of the Gens du Serpent lying between, but told the explorers

that by making a great detour they might find nations who traded with whites on the sea-coast.

Still travelling south-west, with some of the Gens des Chevaux as guides, the Chevalier de la Vérendrye and his brother came to an encampment of Gens de la Belle-Rivière; and on November 21 they reached a large village of Gens de l'Arc, or Bowmen. This interesting tribe, of which the explorers give a fairly full account, has been the subject of more bewildering identification than any other visited on this journey. Parkman supposed them to be one of the bands of the western Sioux; Mr. Granville Stuart, of the Historical Society of Montana, identifies them as the Sans Arcs; Thwaites suggests the Cheyenne, or the Arapaho; Mr. Doane Robinson, of the Historical Society of South Dakota, is confident that they were of the Pawnee-Arikara stock; and Judge Prud'homme, of Saint-Boniface, Manitoba, is equally satisfied that they were the Bow Indians of the South Saskatchewan.

The explorers remained some time with the Gens de l'Arc, being hospitably entertained, especially by the principal chief of the tribe, who 'took the very greatest care of everything belonging to us.' From him the Chevalier learned many particulars of the whites who inhabited the coast, and whom from the description he recognized as Spaniards. 'All that,' he says, 'cooled my ardour considerably for a sea already known; nevertheless, I should greatly have wished to go there had the thing been possible.'

The Bowmen were in the midst of great preparations for an expedition against the Gens du Serpent, and were gradually moving toward the mountains, their numbers constantly increasing from friendly Indians who came in on every side. 'On the first of January 1743,' says the journal, 'we found ourselves in sight of the mountains. The number of fighting men exceeded two thousand, and these with their families made a considerable body as we continued

to march through magnificent prairies where wild animals were in abundance. Every night songs and yells filled the air, and the men kept coming and weeping over our heads, begging us to accompany them to the war.' This the explorers at first refused, saying that they came to create peace and not discord, but finally, at the solicitation of the principal chief, it was decided that the Chevalier should accompany the war party, though not as a combatant, while his brother remained behind to look after their belongings.

On January 12 they reached the foot of the mountains. 'For the most part,' says La Vérendrye, 'they are well wooded with timber of every kind, and very high.' Here, also, they came upon an encampment of the Gens du Serpent, which had evidently been abandoned in great haste, as most of their effects had been left behind. This, instead of encouraging the Bowmen, threw them into consternation. They were convinced that the enemy had only deserted their village in order to fall upon the camp of the Bowmen, where the women and children had been left unprotected, and, in spite of the appeals of their chief, they turned about and fled in disorder back to their camp. Nothing had been seen or heard there of the enemy, but the war party was now hopelessly discouraged.

To his mortification, La Vérendrye had to abandon his plans for climbing the mountains and discovering what might lie beyond. Returning to the Bow village, he and his brother journeyed with the tribe east-south-east until March 1, when they reluctantly took leave of them. 'Seeing,' says the Chevalier, 'no chance of being conducted to the Spanish settlement, and feeling sure that my father would be anxious about us, we decided to make for fort La Reine, and left the Bow People with much regret on both sides.'

Eighteen days later they arrived at a village of the Gens de la Petite Cerise, on the banks of the Missouri. Here they remained until the end of March. 'I deposited,' says the

Chevalier, 'on an eminence near the fort a tablet of lead with the arms and inscription of the King, and a pyramid of stones for the General [Beauharnois].'

Here, at last, we have something definite in this round-about journey. For many years hopes were entertained, though without much apparent foundation, that this tablet might come to light, and serve to fix at least one point in the journey. The tablet has been found, though, as is so often the case, the discovery was the merest accident. It appears that on February 16, 1913, some school children, playing about a hill in the neighbourhood of Pierre, South Dakota, came upon a lead plate, which upon examination proved to be the tablet buried by La Vérendrye one hundred and seventy years before.

The tablet bears upon its face the following inscription:

ANNO XXVI REGNI LUDOVICI XV PROREGE . . .
ILLVSTRISSIMO DOMINO DOMINO MARCHIONE . . .
DE BEAVHARNOIS M.D.CC.XXXXI . . .
PETRVS GAVLTIER DE LAVERENDRIE POSVIT. . . .

On the reverse of the tablet is scratched an inscription recording the burying thereof, with the date, 'le 30 de Mars 1743,' and apparently the names of the witnesses—no doubt the two men who are mentioned as accompanying the explorers. The names, as far as they can be deciphered, seem to be Louy La Londette, or Laudette, and A. Miotte. Unfortunately the names of the two men who accompanied the La Vérendryes are nowhere given in the journal.

Continuing their journey, the explorers were back again in the Mandan villages on May 18, having passed a party of Prairie Sioux on the way. After a short rest, they hastened on to fort La Reine, where they arrived on July 2, to the great delight of their father, who had become alarmed at their prolonged absence.

The country traversed by the La Vérendryes on this

journey, and the farthest point reached by them, have been the subject of much speculation by historical students. Parkman, in ' A Half-Century of Conflict,' traces their route from the Mandan villages on the Missouri, below the mouth of Heart river, west or south-west to the easternmost fork of the Little Missouri, thence over the Powder River mountains (La Vérendrye's Mountain of the Gens des Chevaux), and the west branch of the Little Missouri, and south-south-west between the west branch and Tongue river, crossing the latter well up toward its headwaters and reaching their farthest point in the Bighorn mountains.

From there, he traces them south-east to the Black Hills, and in a general easterly direction to the Missouri, which he supposes they reached a little below the mouth of the Niobrara. Here at least Parkman was wrong, for we now know that they reached the Missouri at Pierre, near the mouth of Bad river, a small stream below the Cheyenne.

Mr. Granville Stuart, in an article in the first volume of the ' Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana,' places an entirely different interpretation on the narrative. From the Mandan villages he believes that the explorers ascended the Missouri to the Gates of the Mountains, near Helena, Montana ; thence up Deep or Smith's river, and over to the head of the Musselshell, a branch of the Missouri, and from there south to the Yellowstone. Crossing that river, he maintains that they ascended Pryor's Fork to the Gap, thence over to Stinking river, which they crossed, and south to Wind river. Stuart takes the Wind River mountains as their farthest point, whence they returned to the Missouri. As, however, his theory brings the travellers back to the Missouri some distance above, instead of below, the Mandan villages, it necessarily falls to the ground.

Stuart seems to have based his theory partly on the original narrative of the Chevalier de la Vérendrye, and partly on two other practically contemporary documents,

one a letter of Father Coquart, the other a memoir prepared by Louis Antoine de Bougainville on the French posts. For both we are indebted to Margry, who quotes the former in a letter dated July 5, 1875, and publishes the latter in his 'Relations et Mémoires Inédits, etc.' (Paris, 1867).

Coquart—on what authority it is impossible to conjecture—says that the La Vérendryes ascended the Missouri not only to the falls, but thirty leagues beyond, where they 'found the passes of the Missouri between some mountains, and the Missouri is the discharge of the lake of which they know not the extent.'

Bougainville, in his memoir, gives only a vague impression of the journey, but indicates that they reached the Rocky Mountains, somewhere about the sources of the Missouri. He also gives native names for the tribes encountered by the travellers—none of which appear in the original narrative.

The statements of Coquart and Bougainville would hardly be worthy of mention, were it not for the fact that the former was associated with La Vérendrye for a time in his western explorations, and the latter was almost certainly known to the explorers, and quite possibly on intimate terms with them. However, or wherever, they obtained the information embodied in their statements, it cannot be accepted as authentic in view of the language of the original narrative.

Mr. Warren Upham, in an article in the first volume of the 'Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association (1907–08),' quotes an unpublished paper by Edward L. Berthoud, in which the latter traces the course of the Chevalier and his brother from the Mandan villages to the Bighorn range, and possibly beyond. 'They may,' he says, 'have passed beyond the Big Horn river, coming to the Shoshone camp near the stream now known as the Shoshone river, tributary to the Big Horn river from the west; so that the mountains near whose base was the camp of the Snake Indians would be the Shoshone mountains, close to

and south-east of the Yellowstone Park. Probably their extreme advance, to the Snake Indian camp, was somewhere in the foothills of the lofty and extended Big Horn range; and if they went beyond that range, I think that it was only to the Shoshone mountains.'

Judge Prud'homme, in an exhaustive paper on the explorations of La Vérendrye, in the 'Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 1905,' also discusses the route of the Chevalier in 1742–43. In the absence of contemporary maps showing the route of the explorers, and in view of the uncertain habitat of the tribes mentioned, he falls back upon the names of rivers as the safest guide. The earliest names of western rivers, he says, are those given to them by the tribes inhabiting their banks, and they often bore the name of the tribe itself. Accordingly, he argues that the river in the neighbourhood of which the Bow Indians had their camp, was the present Bow river, of Alberta, and that the La Vérendryes possibly camped somewhere about the present site of Calgary. Fortunately Judge Prud'homme admits that the question is not clear from doubt. It would indeed be difficult to reconcile a point anywhere in Alberta with the known fact that the explorers returned to the Missouri, from the west, at Pierre.

An interesting contribution to the identification of La Vérendrye's route in 1742–43 is, however, that contained in a letter received by the editor from Mr. Doane Robinson, Secretary of the State Historical Society of South Dakota.

'If,' says Mr. Robinson, 'we can ascertain the average rate of speed at which the Vérendryes travelled, we can arrive at an approximate idea of what point in the west they reached during the expedition. On the trip from Fort La Reine to the Mandan, over a known road and with a definite point in view, they travelled at the rate of nine miles a day. On the return, the distance from Fort Pierre to the Mandan was made at the rate of seven miles a day, and from the

Mandan to fort La Reine at the rate of about five miles a day. From the time made upon these known routes, when they were pursuing direct and known trails, it may be assumed that they travelled not more than six miles [a day] when wandering through the wilderness.

'After leaving the Mandans, their first lap was twenty days' march, which would perhaps bring them to about the Big Bend of the Little Missouri river. There they turned in a more southerly direction, wandering from Indian camp to Indian camp, and finally, on November 18th, reaching the camp of the Indians of the Beautiful river. This may be a bench mark from which we can reckon.

'From time immemorial the Sioux have called the Cheyenne river of South Dakota *Wakpa Waste*, or "Beautiful river." It is not improbable that the Sioux adopted the name given the stream by their predecessors. The French adopted the Sioux name for the upper waters of this stream, which they called the Belle Fourche, the name that continues to this day. It is easy to believe that Vérendrye on November 18th came to a band living upon the Cheyenne. Soon afterwards he joined the Bow Indians, then preparing for war with an implacable enemy which he calls the Snakes.

'Historians have assumed that these Snakes were the Snakes or Shoshonies of our times, but the character imputed to these Indians does not at all conform to what we know of the Shoshonies, but does conform precisely to the traditional and known character of the Kiowas, who at that period infested the Black Hills. It must be kept in mind that all of the western Indians metaphorically called their enemies *Snakes*, the sign manual for enemy and snake being identical. On January 1st they found themselves in sight of the mountains where the enemy dwelt, but they pursued their course eight days longer before they made a permanent camp for the accommodation of the non-combatants.

'January 9th the warriors, leaving the women and children

in camp, again took the war path, but they trod it with great deliberation and caution. Twelve days were they in reaching the mountains which they had seen twenty days before. At this period are a considerable number of days not accounted for, probably spent in locating the enemy in the mountains. This uncertain period would extend from January 21st to February 7th, fifteen days in all. On February 9th the terrorized braves were back in the non-combatant camp, " on the second day of our retreat." Clearly they had come no great distance.

'The explorers remained in the non-combatant camp five days while a blizzard raged. Finally on February 14th they set out for the south-east, accompanied by the Bow Indians. There was two feet of snow on the ground. Progress must have been exceedingly slow, for the camp baggage and women and children must be moved, and they were compelled to live off the country. Under such conditions five miles a day would have been unusual speed. March 1st they appear to have halted for ten days while they communicated with the Little Cherries, and were four days in accomplishing a two days' march to the banks of the Missouri; that is to say, from February 14th to March 19th, a total of thirty-four days, upon twelve of which they did not travel, leaving twenty-two days actually upon the road. That they made a greater distance than 150 miles in that time under the conditions is hardly believable.

'A few things are now definitely established:

'1. Vérendrye reached the Missouri at the present Fort Pierre.

'2. From time immemorial the Arickara or Rees had resided about Fort Pierre, and continued to do so until 1797. The Little Cherry People were doubtless Rees.

'3. The Bow Indians built forts and planted grain. Clearly they were of the allied Pawnee-Arickara people. No other fort builders and planters were below the Mandan.

'4. The Kiowas then occupying the Black Hills were the hereditary enemies of the Pawnee-Ree people.

'From these premises I suggest the following as reasonable conclusions:

'1. That Vérendrye in his wanderings had come to a band of Rees residing upon the upper waters of the Cheyenne, who soon after joined other allies in a war upon the Kiowas in the Black Hills.

'2. That the non-combatant camp was made near the forks of the Cheyenne, or perhaps higher up on the south fork.

'3. That Vérendrye was not at any time west of the Dakotas.

'The only evidence in opposition to this view is the statement of Vérendrye that his course was usually to the south-west, but that is a generalization which I do not deem conclusive. I cannot believe that in the time allotted for the return they came from a greater distance than the Black Hills.'

We have now a variety of theories as to the courses and extent of the journey of 1742–43, running all the way from the Black Hills to the main range of the Rocky Mountains. On the whole, it would seem that the best case is made out for the Black Hills—though it leaves the exploration one of no very striking importance.

Having failed to achieve their object by a route to the south-west, the La Vérendryes turned their attention to the north-west, and discovered the Saskatchewan. It is singular enough that the French explorers should have actually discovered the two principal waterways toward the Pacific. They lacked, however, the knowledge and resources which would have enabled them to carry their enterprise to a successful issue by either route.

Toward the conclusion of his journal of 1738–39, La

Vérendrye says : ' I discovered a few days ago a river flowing west. All the lakes and rivers of which I have so far had knowledge flow into Hudson Bay, the Northern Sea, with the exception of the River of the Mandan. I shall make a thorough survey of it myself this summer or depute some one to do it.' The explorer is still pinning his faith to a west-flowing river, reports of which had first drawn him to the far west, in search of a route to the Pacific. It is uncertain if he here means that he has himself found such a stream, or has merely heard of it from the Indians. If the former, the misapprehension must have arisen from an imperfect examination of some stream such as the Souris, which at one point runs almost due west.

It has been argued that the ' river flowing west ' and the ' River of the Mandan ' in the above statement are identical, and that La Vérendrye consequently refers to the Missouri as flowing west. The context does not, however, support such a contention. Clearly the reference to the River of the Mandan is merely to mark the exception to the general rule that the lakes and rivers of which the explorer had so far had knowledge flowed into Hudson Bay. In any event, he is writing at fort La Reine, on the Assiniboine, toward the end of May 1739, and had not seen the Missouri since the middle of December 1738.

Earlier in the same journal, under date of April 16, La Vérendrye says that he had sent off his son the Chevalier to examine the rivers flowing into Lake Winnipeg, and especially the Rivière Blanche. He adds that he himself intends going thither on the return of the canoes from the east. In his memoir of October 1744, summarizing the result of his explorations, La Vérendrye refers again to his son's expedition to the Rivière Blanche, which he now calls the Poskiac. Poskiac—the name appears on contemporary and later maps in many forms, Poskoiac, Poskoyac, Poskaiao, Pasquayah, Pasquia, etc.—was the Cree name for the Sas-

katchewan. He now adds that his son was directed at the same time to build a fort on the Lake of the Prairies—Lake Winnipegosis—and find a suitable location near the mouth of the Saskatchewan for another fort. The first post was fort Dauphin, and the second fort Bourbon, which were duly established by La Vérendrye's son in 1741, as appears from the same memoir.

In a memorandum on a map representing the establishments and discoveries of La Vérendrye and his sons, some further information may be gleaned as to the exploration toward the north-west. The course followed from fort La Reine to fort Dauphin is here described, as well as that from fort Dauphin to fort Bourbon, also the route followed from fort Maurepas to fort Bourbon. It appears that fort Bourbon was first built on Cedar lake, at the lower end of the Saskatchewan, but this post was subsequently abandoned, and another bearing the same name established at the mouth of Rivière aux Biches, or Red Deer river, on the north-west shore of Lake Winnipegosis. Referring to the Saskatchewan, the memorandum says :

' It was the Chevalier de la Vérendrye who first discovered it, and who ascended it as far as the fork, which is the rendezvous every spring of the Cree of the Mountains, Prairies and Rivers, to deliberate as to what they shall do—go and trade with the French or with the English. It was there that he was in the spring at the meeting of all the Cree and where he inquired minutely, according to his father's orders, where the source of this great river was. They all replied with one voice that it came from very far, from a height of land where there were very lofty mountains, that they knew of a great lake on the other side of the mountains, the water of which was undrinkable.'

It is suggested in this memorandum that a fort should be established at the source of the Saskatchewan, the party wintering at fort Bourbon and starting west up the river

in the spring. Although this memorandum is unsigned, there is reason to believe that it was the work of the Chevalier de la Vérendrye, who seems to have been the most energetic and resourceful member of the family. He was denied the opportunity to carry out his plan, but to some extent at least it was afterwards followed by the Chevalier de Niverville, who explored the Saskatchewan on behalf of Saint-Pierre. In any event, this memorandum establishes the Forks of the Saskatchewan as the farthest point reached by the La Vérendryes in that direction.

In 1744 the elder La Vérendrye, having asked to be relieved of an undertaking which was dragging him into debt and bringing him nothing but calumny, was replaced by Nicolas Joseph de Noyelles, who remained in charge of the posts of the Western Sea until 1747, but does not seem to have done anything at all toward advancing the cause of exploration.

In 1747, Noyelles having accomplished nothing, La Vérendrye was again put in command of the western posts, and authorized to continue his explorations.

Beauharnois had written in October of the previous year, warmly defending the character of La Vérendrye. 'I do not believe,' he says, 'that any blame can be imputed to Sieur de la Vérendrye if more satisfactory progress has not been made in the discovery of the Western Sea. It is none the less true that he gave himself wholly to the task, and devoted to it the whole proceeds of the new posts which he established with so much trouble and care and with extreme risk. I will undertake to state he is better qualified than any one else to carry on this exploration. . . . He has a better understanding, in fact, of the savages of that region through living with them habitually for fourteen years. As a man he is mild and firm and better fitted to draw from them the information necessary for the progress of the discovery which in the hands of Sieur de Noyelles has been for two years at a standstill

notwithstanding the memoirs and instructions I have sent to him.'

And the following year, La Galissonnière, who had succeeded Beauharnois as governor, puts the matter even more bluntly: 'It appears to me that what has been reported to you with reference to the Sieur de la Vérendrye is entirely false, and moreover that any officers who may be employed on that task will be under the necessity of giving a part of their attention to commerce, as long as the King shall not furnish them with other means of subsistence. The system may not be good, but it is a poor way to encourage them to reproach them with any slight profits they may make, or to delay their promotion under this pretext, as Sieur de la Vérendrye says has been done in his case. These explorations cause heavy expense and expose a man to greater fatigue and greater danger than regular wars. Sieur de la Salle and the son of Sieur de la Vérendrye and so many others who have perished in these adventures furnish the proof of what I say.'

La Vérendrye had at last been promoted to the rank of captain in the colonial troops, in 1745, and four years later he got the coveted Cross of Saint Louis. In 1749 he was in Quebec, and while there met the Swedish traveller and naturalist Peter Kalm.

Kalm's account of the interview is interesting, although he seems to have misunderstood some of the things that La Vérendrye or others said to him. He is arguing that North America was at one time inhabited by a race more civilized than the Indians and continues as follows: 'This is confirmed by an account which I received from Mr. de Vérendrye, who has commanded the expedition to the south sea in person, of which I shall presently give an account. I have heard it repeated by others, who have been eye-witnesses of everything that happened on that occasion. Some years before I came into Canada, the then Governor-General, Chevalier

de Beauharnois, gave Mr. de Vérendrye an order to go from Canada, with a number of people, on an expedition across North America to the south sea, in order to examine how far those two places are distant from each other, and to find out what advantages might accrue to Canada, or Louisiana, from a communication with that ocean.

'They set out on horseback from Montreal [a formidable undertaking, remembering the condition of the country at that period] and went as much due west as they could, on account of the lakes, rivers, and mountains which fell in their way. As they came far into the country, beyond many nations, they sometimes met with large tracts of land free from wood, but covered with a kind of very tall grass, for the space of some days' journey. Many of these fields were everywhere covered with furrows, as if they had been ploughed and sown formerly. It is to be observed that the nations which now inhabit North America could not cultivate the land in this manner, because they never made use of horses, oxen, ploughs, or any instruments of husbandry, nor had they even seen a plough before the Europeans came to them.

'In two or three places, at a considerable distance from each other, our travellers met with the impressions of the feet of grown people and children in a rock; but this seems to have been no more than a *Lusus Naturæ*.

'When they came far to the west, where, to the best of their knowledge, no Frenchman or European had ever been, they found in one place in the woods, and again on a large plain, great pillars of stone, leaning upon each other. The pillars consisted of one single stone each, and the Frenchmen could not but suppose that they had been erected by human hands. Sometimes they have found such stones laid upon one another, and, as it were, formed into a wall. In some of those places where they found such stones, they could not find any other sorts of stone. They have not been

able to discover any characters, or writing, upon any of these stones, though they have made a very careful search after them.

'At last they met with a large stone, like a pillar, and in it a smaller stone was fixed, which was covered on both sides with unknown characters. This stone, which was about a foot of French measure in length, and between four or five inches broad, they broke loose, and carried to Canada with them, from whence it was sent to France, to the secretary of state, the Count of Maurepas. What became of it afterwards is unknown to them, but they think it is yet preserved in his collection.

'Several of the Jesuits, who have seen and handled this stone in Canada, unanimously affirm that the letters on it are the same with those which in the books containing accounts of Tataria, are called Tatarian characters; and that, on comparing both together, they found them perfectly alike.

'Notwithstanding the questions which the French on the south sea expedition asked the people there concerning the time when, and by whom those pillars were erected? what their traditions and sentiments concerning them were? who had wrote the characters? what was meant by them? what kind of letters they were? in what language they were written? and other circumstances; yet they could never get the least explication, the Indians being as ignorant of all those things as the French themselves. All they could say was that these stones had been in those places time immemorial. The places where the stones stood were near nine hundred French miles westward of Montreal.

'The chief intention of this journey, viz. to come to the south sea, and to examine its distance from Canada, was never attained on this occasion. For the people sent out for that purpose were induced to take part in a war between

some of the most distant Indian nations, in which some of the French were taken prisoners, and the rest obliged to return. Among the last and most westerly Indians they were with, they heard that the south sea was but a few days' journey off; that they (the Indians) often traded with the Spaniards on that coast, and sometimes likewise they went to Hudson's Bay, to trade with the English. Some of these Indians had houses, which were made of earth. Many nations had never seen any Frenchmen; they were commonly clad in skins, but many were quite naked.'

On September 17, 1749, La Vérendrye writes a letter to the Minister for the Colonies, announcing his intention of leaving Quebec in the spring of 1750 'to pursue the establishment and discovery of the west, which for several years have been interrupted,' and concludes: 'I shall be only too happy if after all the trouble, fatigue, and danger I am about to encounter I may succeed in proving to you the disinterestedness and zeal of myself and my sons for the glory of the King and the welfare of the colony.' La Vérendrye, however, was not destined to make this or any other earthly journey. He died at Montreal, December 5, 1749.

From a memoir dated April 1750 it appears that the sons of La Vérendrye were anxious to continue their father's task, but the new governor, La Jonquière, had decided against them. He writes to the minister, under date of February 27, 1750, that he has instructed Saint-Pierre to carry on the search for the Western Sea. 'He is,' writes La Jonquière, 'the officer in the colony who possesses most information regarding all those countries.' As a matter of fact Saint-Pierre had never been in any portion of the western country covered by the explorations of La Vérendrye, and must have known infinitely less about the region and its inhabitants than the sons of La Vérendrye.

It remains to trace briefly the later careers of the three surviving sons of the explorer, Pierre, François, and Louis-

Joseph. In a memorandum signed by Pierre, and evidently written about 1750, his services are set forth up to that time. It appears that he returned from the west in 1745, and between that time and the spring or summer of 1747 was employed in the expedition against Sarastaw, in Acadia, on St. John Island—now Prince Edward Island—and against the Mohawk.

In 1747 he returned to the west and re-established the trading posts, was at Beauséjour, on the peninsula connecting Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, in 1748, then at Michilimackinac, and on a second visit to Michilimackinac in 1750 he learned of the death of his father. Where he was between 1750 and 1754 is at present unknown, but he was again at Michilimackinac on July 28, 1754, when he witnessed the baptism of an adult slave of his own. He apparently went west again in 1756. Once more we find a gap of several years. A memoir by Pouchot, dated June 29, 1759, says: 'Some Indians from Michilimackinac arrived the same evening saying that Messieurs La Vérendrye and Langlade were coming down the great river [the Ottawa] with twelve hundred Indians.' This there is some reason to believe was Pierre. It is not improbable that together with his brothers he served under Montcalm at Quebec. Where or when Pierre died is unknown.

Louis-Joseph does not appear to have returned to the west after the death of his father. In September 1750 he apparently addressed a memorial to the minister setting forth the claims of his brothers and himself to employment in the search for the Western Sea, either alone or under Saint-Pierre. Nothing came of it. In a letter of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, dated at Quebec, September 12, 1759, he says: 'L'établissement des postes proposés par MM. de Saint-Luc et de la Vérendrye convient très fort, eu égard aux circonstances. J'écris en conséquence à mon frère de prendre les arrangements des plus convenables à cet égard.' Louis-Joseph sailed

for France in the ill-fated ship *L'Auguste*, October 1761, and was drowned off the coast of Cape Breton.

François outlived his brothers. At least we have no evidence to the contrary. He remained in Canada after the cession, and died at Montreal in 1794.

Of the attempt of Jacques Repentigny Legardeur de Saint-Pierre to continue La Vérendrye's western explorations, we have a detailed account in his journal, published in the Report on Canadian Archives for 1886.

Saint-Pierre left Montreal in 1750, and remained in the west until August 1753, when he handed over the command of the posts of the Western Sea to Louis François de La Corne.

Saint-Pierre had with him as lieutenant Boucher de Niverville, a competent officer, upon whose shoulders the leader of the expedition seems to have laid the burden of preliminary exploration, he himself looking after the trading posts.

Saint-Pierre made his headquarters at fort La Reine, on the Assiniboine, while he sent Niverville to the Saskatchewan, 'where,' he says, 'not being able to go in a canoe, he was obliged to hide one part of his provisions in the woods, and bring the other with him on toboggans. There was no misery which he did not experience; having no food he and his party were every day exposed to the risk of dying from hunger, with only the wretched resource of a few fish during the winter.'

It was agreed that in the spring of 1751 Niverville was to ascend the Saskatchewan, and build a post three hundred leagues above 'that of Paskoya.' It is uncertain if this was fort Bourbon, or another post on the main Saskatchewan, somewhere below the forks. Although the Chevalier de la Vérendrye ascended the Saskatchewan to the forks, it is not definitely stated that he built a post there, or anywhere west of fort Bourbon.

On the other hand, it is known that there were, before

the close of the period of French rule in Canada, one or more posts between the forks and the mouth of the Saskatchewan, in addition to the abandoned fort Bourbon, on Cedar lake, and it is quite possible that one of these existed in 1751.

Saint-Pierre apparently was to follow Niverville up the river, after the post had been established. 'I agreed,' he says, 'with all these nations that they should reunite with me at this new post, from thence to accompany me as far as it was possible to penetrate, being determined to push my discoveries well in advance. I had only to fear landing at Hudson's Bay, which I had fully determined to avoid by turning to the west, in order to find the sources of the Missouri river, in the hope that they would lead me to some rivers having their course in the part to which I sought to penetrate.'

Niverville was taken ill at the Paskoya post, but in the spring 'sent off ten men in two canoes, who ascended the river Paskoya [Saskatchewan] as far as the Rocky Mountains, where they made a good fort, which I named fort Lajonquière [in honour of the governor], and a considerable store of provisions, in expectation of the arrival of M. de Niverville.'

The probable location of fort Lajonquière is discussed in 'The Search for the Western Sea,' pp. 273–77, to which reference may be made.

Saint-Pierre says that he remained at fort La Reine until news came from the Saskatchewan that Niverville's illness was so serious that he was not expected to recover. He then went down to Grand Portage to obtain supplies, and, having conducted these safely to fort La Reine, was on his way to join Niverville and, as he says, 'pursue my discoveries,' when he met two of Niverville's men with four Indians, 'who were coming to inform me of the continued illness of M. de Niverville, and, as an addition to the misfortune, of

the treason of the Assinipoels towards the Yhatchejllini, who were to be my guides as far as the Kinougo8ilini.' [1]

It appears that the Assiniboin, meeting a party of Yhatchejllini at fort Lajonquière, after smoking the calumet with them, treacherously attacked and slaughtered the entire party with the exception of a few women and children, whom they carried off as prisoners. 'This unfortunate event,' says Saint-Pierre, 'totally deranged my plans, and compelled me, most unwillingly, to abandon them.' What was to become of poor Niverville does not seem to have given any very serious concern to his leader. It appears, however, that Niverville recovered, and evidently made his way to fort Lajonquière, as he subsequently gave Saint-Pierre an account of what he learned there.

Saint-Pierre thus continues his account :

'Seeing the impossibility of continuing my search, I set myself to obtain as much knowledge as possible from the most experienced Indians, to find if there were not some river which led elsewhere than to Hudson Bay. At first they said they knew of none. However, an old Indian of the nation of the Kinougo8ilini assured me that a short time before an establishment had been made at a great distance from them, where they go to trade ; that the merchandise brought there is almost similar to that of Canada ; that they are not absolute English ; he rather thinks they are French, but they are not altogether so white as we are ; that the road taken to go to them is directly towards where the sun sets in the month of June, which I have estimated to be west-north-west.'

[1] I am indebted to Mr. J. B. Tyrrell of Toronto for the following information : 'Yhatchejllini is a Swampy Cree word, meaning strangers or slaves, and was applied either to the Blackfeet or the Beaver Indians. Kinougo8ilini means "pike Indians." As far as I know this name was not applied to any particular group or tribe of Indians, but rather to those living in the country of small lakes north of the North Saskatchewan river, in which pike are very plentiful. It simply means Indians who live on fish or pike.'

If any credence is to be given this story, it suggests the possibility that the Indians may have found their way to one of the Russian posts or Spanish settlements on the Pacific, or, more probably, that they may have traded with Pacific Coast tribes who had relations with these.

'I made use,' continues Saint-Pierre, 'of every means to determine this Indian to go to the settlement with two Cristinaux, whom I engaged to accompany him and find out the road. I gave them a letter for the commandant of the post, where he assured me there was one. I promised them a good reward if they brought any answer to my letter, or some other proof of their correctness. They assured me that on the arrival of the first ice I should have reason to be satisfied, of which I ventured to flatter myself, because it is very certain that there is a civilized nation in the settlement of which this Indian told me. The English are not ignorant of it, and I have myself seen the horses and saddles which the Indians obtain there. But it is impossible to penetrate to that settlement just now, seeing that the journey can only be made by land across the prairies and carrying provisions, and that there can be no avoiding an infinity of nations more savage than can be imagined, from whom there is everything to fear.'

Despite Saint-Pierre's protestations of interest in the cause of western discovery, it is doubtful if his heart was ever very much in the enterprise. The reference here to horses and saddles would indicate that the whites were Spaniards. Niverville adds some further particulars as to the white traders on the coast.

'He gave me,' says Saint-Pierre, 'an account of what he had learned at the settlement he had made near the Rocky Mountains; that a party of Indians, who were going to war, met with a nation loaded with beaver, who were going by a river which issues from the Rocky Mountains, to trade with the French, who had their first establishment on an

island at a short distance from the land, where there is a large storehouse ; that when arrived there they made signals, and people came to them to trade for their beavers, in exchange for which they gave them knives, a few lances, but no firearms ; that they sell them also horses and saddles, which shelter them from arrows when they go to war. These Indians positively asserted that the traders were not English. The establishment is by compass west by west [*sic*], which cannot possibly belong to them [the English].'

One dramatic incident in connection with Saint-Pierre's stay at fort La Reine is worth quoting :

'On the 22nd February, 1752, about nine o'clock in the morning, I was at this post with five Frenchmen. I had sent the rest of my people, consisting of fourteen persons, to look for provisions, of which I had been in need for several days. I was sitting quietly in my room, when two hundred Assiniboin entered the fort, all of them being armed. These Indians scattered immediately all through the house ; several of them entered my room, unarmed ; others remained in the fort.

'My people came to warn me of the behaviour of these Indians. I ran to them and told them sharply that they were very forward to come to my house in a crowd, and armed. One of them answered in Cree, that they came to smoke. I told them that that was not the proper way to take, and that they must retire at once. I believe that the firmness with which I spoke somewhat intimidated them, especially as I had put four of the most resolute out of the door, without them saying a word.

'I went at once to my room, but at that very moment a soldier came to tell me that the guard-house was full of these Indians, who had taken possession of the arms. I ran to the guard-house and demanded of them, through a Cree who was in my service as interpreter, what were their views. During this time I was preparing to fight them with my

weak force. My interpreter, who betrayed me, said that these Indians had no bad intentions. At the very time an Assiniboin orator, who had been constantly making fine speeches to me, had told the interpreter that in spite of him his nation would kill and rob me.

'I had scarcely made out their intentions than I forgot it was necessary to take the arms from them. I seized hold of a blazing brand, broke in the door of the powder magazine, knocked down a barrel of gunpowder, over which I passed the brand, telling the Indians in an assured tone that I expected nothing at their hands, and that in dying I would have the glory of subjecting them to the same fate.

'No sooner had the Indians seen my lighted brand and my barrel of gunpowder with its head staved in, and heard my interpreter, than they all fled out of the gate of the fort, which they damaged considerably in their hurried flight. I soon gave up my brand, and had nothing more urgent to do than to close the gate of the fort.'

Chevalier de La Corne, as already mentioned, succeeded to the command of the posts of the Western Sea in August 1753, under the instructions of the Marquis Du Quesne, who had replaced La Jonquière as governor of the colony. He apparently remained in charge of the western posts until 1755, and may have had a nominal command up to the close of the period of French rule. As indicated in Vaudreuil's letter of September 12, 1759, he was present in Quebec during the siege. His activities in the west seem to have been confined to the building of a trading post below the forks of the Saskatchewan. So far as we have any evidence, he contributed nothing whatever to the tale of western discovery.

One interesting sidelight on the French posts on the Saskatchewan is afforded by the Journal of Anthony Hendry, of the Hudson's Bay Company, who made an expedition from York Factory to the country of the Blackfeet in the years

1754–55. The journal is published in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 1907, and is notable as the only recorded visit of British traders to their French rivals in the far west.

Under date of July 22, 1754, Hendry says: 'The Musketoes are now intolerable, giving us neither peace day nor night; paddled 14 miles up the River west, when we came to a French house. On our arrival two Frenchmen came to the water-side, and in a very genteel manner invited me into their house—which I readily accepted. One of them asked me if I had any letter from my Master, and where, and on what design, I was going inland. I answered I had no letter, and that I was sent to view the Country, and intended to return in the Spring. He told me the Master [no doubt La Corne] and men were gone down to Montreal with the furs; and that they must detain me till their return. However, they were very kind; and at night I went to my tent, and told Attickashish, or Little Deer, my Leader, that had the charge of me, who smiled and said they dared not. I sent them two feet of tobacco, which was very acceptable to them.'

On May 29, 1755, on his return journey to Hudson Bay, Hendry again stopped at the French fort on the Saskatchewan. He says: 'Paddled 60 miles, then came to a French House I passed last autumn; there were a Master and nine men. On our arrival they gave the Natives 10 Gallons of Brandy adulterated, and they are now drunk. The Master invited me in to sup with him, and was very kind. He is dressed very Genteel, but the men wear nothing but thin drawers, & striped cotton shirts ruffled at the hands and breast. This House has been long a place of trade belonging to the French, & named Basquea. It is 26 feet long; 12 feet wide; 9 feet high to the ridge; having a sloping roof; the Walls Log on Log; the top covered with Birch-rind, fastened together with willows, & divided into three apartments:

One for Trading goods, one for Furs, and the third they dwell in.'

The following morning Hendry breakfasted with La Corne. 'He showed me the stock of Furs viz.: A brave parcel of Cased Cats, Martens, and parchment Beaver. Their Birch-rind canoes will carry as much as an India Ships Long-boat, and draws little water; and so light that two men can carry one several miles with ease; they are made in the same form and slight materials as the small ones; only a thin board runs along their bottom; & they can sail them when before the wind, but not else. The French talk Several Languages to perfection: they have the advantage of us in every shape; and if they had Brazile tobacco, which they have not, would entirely cut off our trade. They have white tobacco made up in Roles of 12 lb. wt. each. The Master desired me to bring or send him a piece of Brazile tobacco, and a quart, or pint, japanned drinking mug.' Hendry spent two more days at the French fort, and then set out for York Factory.

Another Hudson's Bay Company man, Matthew Cocking, who ascended the Saskatchewan in 1772, says: 'Proceeded & came to Basquia. Here at a small river where the Natives killed Guiniads with hand nets. Many Natives have been here lately. This is a long frequented place where the Canadians rendezvous & trade with the Natives.' (See his Journal in 'Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 1908.') Fort Basquia, or Pasquia, stood at the mouth of the small stream that still bears that name. The place is to-day known as The Pas.

In an appendix to the journals will be found several documents, bearing date from 1739 to 1742, which throw an interesting and instructive light upon La Vérendrye's relations with the Montreal merchants. La Vérendrye's energies were entirely absorbed in the cause of exploration. He was no business man, and a very indifferent fur-trader,

and it is quite possible that the financial results of the monopoly thrust upon him by the Court in lieu of more tangible assistance, which left him heavily in debt, may not have been very profitable even to the merchants who equipped his expeditions.

Prefixed to this Introduction will be found a list of original maps, prepared by La Vérendrye, his sons, or his nephew La Jemeraye, or compiled from information furnished by them, together with a Bibliography—which does not profess to be in any sense exhaustive—of material relating to La Vérendrye and his western explorations, and to the principal tribe visited by him, the Mandan.

It will be noted that La Vérendrye's journals for the years 1731–33, 1734–36, 1737–38, and subsequent to 1739, if there were any detailed journals for these years, as well as his first memoir of 1728, are missing. The most careful search has failed to bring to light either the originals or copies of these journals, and it is reasonable to suppose that they are lost beyond recovery. Fortunately, however, La Vérendrye's Summary journal (pp. 435 *et seq.*) covers the main points in his activities during these years, and it is safe to assume that no essential fact bearing on his western explorations is missing from the record as published.

JOURNALS AND LETTERS OF LA VÉRENDRYE AND OTHERS

Joint à la Lettre de M. de Beauharnois du 10 *octobre* 1730.

Suite du Memoire du Sieur de la Veranderie touchant la découverte de la Mer de l'Ouest.

Un sauvage nommé Pako, le Chef du Lac Nepigon, Lefoye, et le petit Jour son frere chefs Cris me rapporterent

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Continuation of the Report[1] *of the Sieur de la Vérendrye*[2] *touching upon the discovery of the Western Sea.*

(*Annexed to the Letter of M. de Beauharnois,*[3] *of October* 10, 1730.[4])

A savage named Pako, Chief of Lake Nipigon,[5] Lefoye, and Petit Jour his brother, Cree[6] chiefs, reported to me

[1] This journal was written in 1729, and is a continuation of his journal of 1728, which is lost. At Michilimackinac La Vérendrye met Father Nicolas de Gonner, who was on his way down to Quebec from the Sioux mission; told him of his plans for western exploration; and entrusted to him the 1728 journal, to be taken to the governor, Beauharnois. The journal apparently reached the governor, but what became of it afterwards is not known. No trace of it can be found either in the French archives in Paris, or in Canada.

[2] The explorer's name appears in a variety of forms; he himself, following the loose practice of the period, spelling it in various ways at different times, and even in the same letter. The accepted form to-day is La Vérendrye. See Benjamin Sulte's article in *Nouvelles Soirées Canadiennes*, Jan. 1884.

[3] Charles, Marquis de Beauharnois. Born in 1670, he entered the French navy in 1686, and rose to the rank of admiral in 1748. He was governor of New France from 1726 to 1747, and died in 1749.

[4] This letter is missing.

[5] *I.e.* chief of a band of Cree whose country lay about Lake Nipigon. Lake Nipigon lies north of Lake Superior, into which it empties by the Nipigon river. The lake is supposed to have been discovered about the year 1678 by Charles de Greysolon, Sieur de La Tourette, brother of DuLhut, but Radisson may have seen it in 1662.

[6] The present name, Cree, is a contraction of the name Kristinaux (Cristinaux, Cristinos, Christinaux, and many other variants) by which the tribe was known to the French. Hodge, in *Handbook of American Indians*, says the French name was derived from *Kenistenoag*, one of the names which the Cree applied to themselves. The same authority gives the former habitat of this Algonquian tribe as between the Red and Saskatchewan rivers, but they ranged from the Athabaska in the west to Hudson Bay in the east, and down to the shores of Lake Superior.

avoir esté au delà de la hauteur des terres à une grande Riviere qui descend droit au Couchant du Soleil, et qui s'elargit toujours en descendant, qu'il n'y a dans cette grande Riviere que deux cascades à environ trois journées de sa source, que l'on ne trouve de bois que pendant l'espace de 200 lieues de chemin environ à suivre l'Estime de leur marche.

Ils font un grand recit de ce pays là, que c'est une terre toujours unie, sans montagne, tout beau bois francs entremêlés de chesnieres, qu'il y a partout quantité d'arbres fruitiers et de toutes sortes de bestes, que les Nations Sauvages y sont très nombreuses, toujours Errantes, ne demeurant

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that they had been beyond the height of land and reached a great river which flows straight towards the setting sun, and which widens continually as it descends ; that in this great river there are only two rapids about three days' journey from its source, and that wood is only found along about two hundred leagues of its course, according to the estimate they made in their travel.[1]

They give a great account of that country, saying that it is all very level, without mountains, all fine hard wood with here and there groves of oak ; that everywhere there are quantities of fruit trees, and all sorts of wild animals ; that the savage tribes are there very numerous, and always

[1] The ' great river which flows straight towards the setting sun ' is evidently the Winnipeg, but not the Winnipeg alone. La Vérendrye's understanding of the story of the Cree chiefs apparently was that this river flowed into Lake Winnipeg and then on to the west and into the Western Sea. Allowing for the vagueness of the Indian description as it would reach the explorer, probably through an interpreter, this might mean the Winnipeg and the Saskatchewan, leading toward the west, or the Winnipeg and the Nelson, leading to the sea. On the other hand, Beauharnois' memoir of September 28, 1733, and La Jemeraye's map clearly identify the River of the West as the Missouri. It is possible that the great river of La Vérendrye's memoir of 1729 and the River of the West of Beauharnois' memoir of 1733 are the same. The references to the Assiniboin, Sioux and Mandan would fit the Missouri, but not either the Saskatchewan or the Nelson.

point dans un lieu arresté, mais portant sans cesse leurs cabannes d'un lieu à un autre, et se campant toujours en Village ; ils nomment ces nations Assiniboils et Cioux, parce qu'elles parlent toutes les langues Ciouses, ces Nations à trois cent lieues environ plus bas sont sedentaires, font des grains, et faute de bois se construisent des cahutes de terre, Le bois finit au bord d'un grand Lac que le fleuve forme environ à deux cent lieues de sa source ; c'est à la gauche en descendant, qu'à la sortye du Lac on trouve une petite

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wandering, never staying in any fixed place, but carrying their cabins with them continually from one place to another and always camping together to form a village. They call these nations Assiniboin [1] and Sioux [2] because they speak all the Sioux languages. The nations about three hundred leagues lower down are sedentary, raise crops, and for lack of wood make themselves mud huts.[3] The wood comes to an end on the shore of a great lake [4] formed by the river about two hundred leagues from its source ; on the left as you follow down, at the outlet of the lake, you come to a little

[1] Originally a Siouan tribe, they broke away from the parent stock early in the seventeenth century, and settled for a time in the Lake of the Woods country, moving thence to the region about Lake Winnipeg, and along the river that now bears their name. They became closely allied with the Cree, but were almost constantly at war with their kinsmen the Dakota.

[2] Sioux or Dakota, a group belonging to the Siouan family, occupying in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the country from Green Bay to the Mississippi, and west of that river far out toward the Rocky Mountains. They were generally called by the French the Nadowessioux, a corruption of *Nadowe-is-iw*, meaning snake or adder, and implying enemy, the name given them by the Chippewa. Dakota is the name they applied to themselves. The Jesuits established missions among them in the seventeenth century ; and they were visited by Radisson in 1659, and by DuLhut in 1678.

[3] Apparently a reference to the Mandan, of the Upper Missouri, and perhaps also to the Hidatsa and Arikara, of the same region. All three tribes were sedentary, practised agriculture, and lived in earth lodges.

[4] Probably Lake Winnipeg.

riviere dont l'eau paroit à la veue rouge comme le vermillon, les Sauvages en font une grande estime. C'est de ce même côté du fleuve bien plus bas qu'est une petite montagne dont les pierres brillent la nuit et le jour. Les Sauvages l'appellent la demeure de l'Esprit, personne n'ose en approcher, cette espece de montagne et la riviere Rouge, où il se trouve par endroit un sable fort fin couleur d'or, semble quelque chose de précieux à toutes les Nations des environs.

Comme je vais rapporter ce que j'ay appris de nouveau cette année 1729 par rapport au pays dont je viens de parler, je finis sur les autres particularités que j'ay apprises l'an passé pour les rapporter plus au net sur le temoignage de nouveaux Sauvages qui ont parcouru la même riviere.

N'ayant rien négligé, Monsieur, depuis l'automne derniere

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river[1] the water of which looks red like vermilion, and is held in great esteem by the savages. On the same side of the river, but much lower down, there is a small mountain, the stones of which sparkle night and day. The savages call it the Dwelling of the Spirit ; no one ventures to go near it. This kind of mountain and the Red river, where in places a very fine gold-coloured sand is found, seem to all the nations of the region something very precious.

As I am going to report such new facts as I have learnt this year, 1729, respecting the country I have just been speaking about, I conclude by mentioning the other particulars which I learnt last year so as to give a more exact account of them on the testimony of other savages who have explored the same river.

Having neglected nothing, Monsieur, since I arrived

[1] The position, rather than the alleged colour, would seem to indicate Red river.

que je suis arrivé Commandant au poste du Nord pour avoir le plus qu'il me seroit possible de connoissance sur le beau et grand fleuve qui descend droit au Couchant du Soleil, et la route qu'il faut tenir pour s'y rendre j'ay eu soin aussy de m'assurer d'un Sauvage capable d'y conduire un convoy, en cas que sous le bon plaisir de Sa Majesté vous vouliés bien m'honôrer de vos ordres pour en faire la découverte, et voicy ce que je puis assurer comme certain sur les nouvelles connoissances que j'ay eû.

Les Sauvages des terres, pour la plus part, ont connois-

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last autumn as commander of the Northern post,[1] that could help to give me the fullest possible knowledge of the fine and mighty river which flows straight to the west and the route to be taken to get to it, I have taken care also to secure a savage able to conduct a party thither in case, with the consent of His Majesty, you should be so good as to honour me with your commands to discover it, and, on the strength of the new information I have received, I can now positively state as follows :

The savages of the interior have knowledge for the most

[1] In a letter from DuLhut to the governor, La Barre, dated September 10, 1684, he says : ' As I was leaving the Lake of Almepigon [Nipigon] I made, in June, all the presents necessary to prevent the savages from further carrying their beaver to the English. . . . The Klistinos, the Assenepolacs, the people from the Sapinière, the Openens, Dachiling, the Outoubouhys and Tabitibis, which comprise all the nations which are to the west of the Northern Sea, have promised to be, next spring, at the fort which I have constructed near the River à la Maune, at the bottom of Lake Alemepigon ; and next summer I will construct one in the country of the Klistinos [Cree] which will be an effectual barrier.' A map by Hubert Jaillot, 1700, shows ' Poste du Sr du Luth ' on the north shore of Lake Nipigon, and a note on this map, in *Statutes . . . respecting the . . . Boundaries of . . . Ontario* (Toronto, 1878), says ' Otherwise known as Fort Latourette.' ' Fort la Maune, ca 1684,' appears on the north side of Lake Nipigon, on the map showing Routes of Explorers, in White's *Atlas of Canada* (Ottawa, 1906). These references are all apparently to one and the same post. About thirty years later another post was built at the mouth of the Nipigon river, and it was this post of which La Vérendrye had charge in 1728–29. Alexander Henry mentions it, when passing the site in 1775.

sance de ce fleuve, les uns en parlent pour y avoir êté, les autres par ouy dire, et tous conviennent de la même chose dans leurs discours. Il vint l'automne derniere des Cris avec des gens des terres au fort de Camanistigoüia.

Tacchigis qui est un chef des Cris me dit alors qu'il avoit êté jusqu'au Lac du grand fleuve de l'Ouest, et plusieurs fois, il me fit ensuite le même recit que les autres m'avoient desja fait. Je luy demanday s'il n'avoit pas connoissance d'autres grandes rivieres, il me repondit qu'il en connoissoit plusieurs, mais que celle qui và à l'Ouest passoit toutes les autres par sa largeur, me faisant ensuite l'explication de plusieurs autres rivieres et plus grosses, qu'il avoit veuës d'une hauteur des terres qui và au Sud-Ouest, il me dit que

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part of this river; some speak as having been there, others have heard of it, and all agree in what they say about it. Last autumn some Cree came to fort Camanistigouia[1] with some people of the region.

Tacchigis, a chief of the Cree, told me then that he had been as far as the lake of the great river of the West, and several times afterwards he told me the same story that the others had already done. I asked him if he did not know of other great rivers; he replied that he knew of several, but that the one running west exceeded all the others in width. He then gave me a statement in regard to several other larger rivers that he had seen from a height of land sloping to the south-west.

[1] Kaministikwia, the name now given to the river which empties into Thunder bay, Lake Superior, appears in innumerable forms, on maps and in printed and manuscript documents, both before and after the cession of Canada. The first trading post is believed to have been built at the mouth of the river by DuLhut about 1678, and rebuilt, or another constructed, by Zacharie Robutel de la Nouë, in 1717. This is no doubt the fort referred to by La Vérendrye. Not far from the site of the French post, the North West Company built Fort William, in 1801. The meaning of the Indian name is given as 'Three rivers,' referring to the three mouths of the Kaministikwia. On Delisle's map of 1703 it appears as 'Les 3 Rivieres.' See also the footnote in vol. xix of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, pp. 166–7.

quatre grandes rivieres y prennent leur source, dont l'une descendant au Nord jusqu'au Lac du grand fleuve de l'Ouest, prend ensuite sa route vers l'Ouest à la décharge du Lac, l'autre prenant son cours au Nord-Est tombe dans une riviere qui allant à l'Ouest-Nord-Ouest se decharge dans le même Lac, La troisième courant d'abord au Sud-Est et suivant ensuite le Sud, va chés les Espagnols ; La quatrieme courant entre les deux dernières forme le Missisipy, il me fit avec du charbon la carte de ces pays, et y plaça ses rivieres selon ses marques, j'attends ce printems plusieurs Sauvages que l'on m'assure avoir êté bien bas dans le fleuve de l'Ouest,

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He told me that four great rivers take their rise there, one of which, flowing north as far as the lake of the great river of the West, turns west at the outlet of the lake; another flowing north-east falls into a river which, flowing west-north-west, empties into the same lake. The third, flowing at first south-east and afterwards running south, goes to the country of the Spaniards. The fourth, taking its course between the last two, forms the Mississippi. With a piece of charcoal he made me a map of those regions, and placed these rivers on them according to his marks.[1]

I am expecting this spring some savages who, I am assured, have been very far down the river of the West, and who will

[1] This is in substantial agreement with the rivers as shown on the map traced by the Indian Auchagah, or Ochagach (see p. 53). Comparing this narrative with the Indian map, it will be reasonably clear that the height of land referred to by Tacchigis is in northern Minnesota. His first river is the Red, and the turning west at the outlet of the lake evidently refers to the Saskatchewan ; his second probably Big Elk river, a tributary of Rainy river ; the third and fourth, upper waters of the Mississippi. In attempting to identify these rivers, one must, of course, make allowances for the fact that they are described by an Indian to a white man who had never yet been through the region. For a different interpretation, see Prud'homme's article in the *Trans. of the Royal Society of Canada*, 1905, i. 23 ; and for still another, see note by Edouard Richard in *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1899, p. 138.

qui me pourront donner la carte du chemin jusqu'aux endroits où ils ont êtés.

Un esclave adopté chés les gens des terres et donné au Vieux Crapaut chef du pays plat, par les Cris, après avoir êté fait prisonnier par les Assiniboils, sur le Continent qui est à la gauche du fleuve de l'Ouest rapporte que les villages sont la, très nombreux, qu'il y en a plusieurs de près de deux lieues de longueur, que les profondeurs sont habitées comme la devanture du fleuve, tous les Sauvages selon son rapport y font quantité de grains, les fruits y abondent, on ne voit que bestes pour la chasse qui ne s'y fait qu'avec l'arc et les flèches, on n'y sait ce que c'est que canot, comme il n'y a point de bois dans toute cette vaste étendue de pays on fait sécher de la fiante de beste pour faire du feu, il ajoute qu'il a

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be able to supply a map of the road to the places at which they have been.

A slave adopted by the people of the territory, and given to Vieux Crapaud, chief of the flat country, by the Cree, after having been made prisoner by the Assiniboin on the stretch of country to the left of the river of the West, reports that the villages there are very numerous, many of them being nearly two leagues in extent, and that the back country is inhabited like that fronting on the river. All the savages there, according to his report, raise quantities of grain, fruits abound, game is in great plenty and is only hunted with bows and arrows; the people there do not know what a canoe is; as there is no wood in all that vast extent of country, for fuel they dry the dung of animals.[1]

[1] The tribes of the plains, between the Saskatchewan and the Missouri, used bull-boats instead of canoes. These boats were made of buffalo-skins stretched on a light frame. See Maximilian of Wied and Catlin as to their use on the Missouri, and the Hendry and Cocking *Journals* (*Royal Society of Canada Trans.* 1907 and 1908) for the Saskatchewan. These tribes also used what was known as *bois de vache* for fuel, when wood was unobtainable.

passé plusieurs fois à la vuë de la montagne dont la pierre luit jour et nuit, et que de cet endroit la on commence de s'appercevoir du flux et reflux et depuis le Lac auprès duquel est la riviere Rouge jusques bien plus bas que la montagne il n'y a point d'habitations de Sauvages, qu'il n'a jamais ouy parler s'il y avoit loin de la mer, qu'il ne pense pas qu'il y ait homme assés hardy pour entreprendre de passer devant les differentes nations qui se trouvent ensuite en grand nombre, a dessein d'en faire la decouverte, il fait mention de toutes les particularités que contenoit le Memoire que j'eus l'honneur de vous envoyer l'année derniere par le Reverend pere Gonore assurant qu'il y a sur la droite du fleuve une Nation de nains qui n'ont que trois pieds environ, nation au reste très nombreuse et fort brave, qu'à l'endroit enfin où le flux et reflux commence, le fleuve a plus de trois lieues de large.

He adds that he passed several times within sight of the mountain the stone of which shines night and day, and that from that point you begin to notice a rise and fall of tide; also that from the lake near which is the Red river to far below the mountain there are no settlements of savages; that he had never heard tell whether it was far from the sea, and that he did not think there was any man bold enough to pass by the different tribes that are to be found in great number lower down in order to make an exploration.

He makes mention of all the special points contained in the Memoir which I had the honour to send you last year by the Reverend Father Gonner[1] and affirms that on the right bank of the river there is a tribe of dwarfs not over three feet or so in height, but numerous and very brave. At the place where the ebb and flow begins the river is more than three leagues in width.

[1] Father Nicolas de Gonner was born November 19, 1691, and entered the Society of Jesus, September 11. 1710. He came to Canada in 1725, and in 1727 was sent to the Sioux mission. He died at Quebec, December 10, 1759. For further biographical particulars, see p. 25 of *The Aulneau Collection, 1734–1745*, ed. by Rev. Arthur E. Jones, S.J., and pub. by St. Mary's College, Montreal, 1893.

Rapport au guide j'ay fait choix d'un nommé Auchagah Sauvage de mon poste fort attaché à la nation françoise le plus en état de guider le convoy et dont il n'y a pas lieu de craindre que l'on soit abandonné dans la route, lorsque je luy proposay de me conduire à la grande riviere de l'Ouest, il me repondit que j'êtois maître de luy, et qu'il marcheroit des que je le voudrois, je luy donnai un collier par lequel selon leur maniere de parler, je saisie sa volonté à la mienne, luy disant qu'il eut a se tenir prêt pour le tems que j'aurois besoin de luy, et luy marquant la saison et l'année que je pourrois me trouver au pays plat à dessein d'aller faire la decouverte de la mer de l'Ouest, Si j'avois, Monsieur, l'honneur de recevoir vos ordres pour cela je luy fis ensuite des presens pour l'affectionner davantage et l'affermir dans ces promesses.

Outre cela j'ay pris connoissance du chemin par differens Sauvages, tous rapportent la même chose, qu'il y a trois

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With reference to the guide, the man I have chosen is one named Auchagah, a savage of my post, greatly attached to the French nation, the man most capable of guiding a party, and with whom there would be no fear of our being abandoned on the way. When I proposed to him to guide me to the great river of the West he replied that he was at my service and would start whenever I wished. I gave him a collar by which, after their manner of speaking, I took possession of his will, telling him that he was to hold himself in readiness for such time as I might have need of him, and indicating to him the season of the year when I might be in the flat country for the purpose of proceeding to the discovery of the Western Sea; if, Monsieur, I should have the honour of receiving your orders to do so. I then made him some presents to increase his affection for us, and make sure that he would fulfil his promises.

Apart from that I acquainted myself with the route through different savages, who all made the same statement,

Publiée sous le Privilege de l'Académie des Sciences, du 4 Septembre 1754
CARTE tracée par le Sauvage Ochagach
VIII.e Carte pour la 3.e et derniere Partie des Considerations, &c.
F. 23.
Explication des Signes marqués sur la Carte du Sauvage Ochagach.
Rapides
Petits Portages
Gds Portages
Côte où se font les Portages
Hauteur des Terres
Cours des Rivieres
CARTE PHYSIQUE des Terreins les plus élevés de la Partie Occidentale du CANADA:
Où l'on voit les Nouvelles Découvertes des Officiers François à l'Ouest du Lac Supérieur; Avec les Rivieres et les Lacs dont M. Jeremie a parlé dans la Relation de la Baye de Hudson.
Dressée par Philippe Buache.
REMARQUES.
On a ici concilié les 3 Cartes de nos Officiers François dont il a été parlé dans les Considérations, pp. 30 et suiv. et l'on en a rapproché ce que M. Jeremie a dit du Cours de la Riviere de Bourbon. Nos Officiers ont observé que le Fort Camanestigouia est à 47° 24'. de lat. le Fort St. Pierre à 47° 15. et le Fort St. Charles à 48°. 27'. En consequence de ces deux dernieres Observations et du Cours des Rivieres qui sont plus à l'Ouest, on doit reconnoître que le Cours du Mississipi, qui nous est peu connu au dessus du Saut St. Antoine, est de l'Ouest à l'Est et non pas du Nord Est, comme on la supposé jusqu'à présent.
Dans la Carte du Sauvage Ochagach, les Lacs et Rivres courent à l'O. du Lac Supérieur, au lieu que dans les Cartes des Offrs François elles prennent la direction de l'ONO. Cette diffce semble venir en partie de ce que les Sauvages dans leurs courses ne font pas une assez grande attention aux differents points de l'Horizon où le Soleil se levé et se couche dans les diffes Saisons, et ainsi cette considération doit entrer dans l'examen de leurs Descriptions comparées avec celles des Nations plus éclairées.
Les Chaînes de Montagnes indiquées par la Suite des Sources des Rivieres, partagent cette partie du Canada en trois Bassins Terrestres, inclinés l'un vers le Golfe du Mexique, et où coulent les eaux qui forment le Mississipi, l'autre vers la Be de Hudson où se jette la Rivre de Bourbon, qui est l'écoulemt des Lacs nouvellemt découverts; le 3e vers l'Océan Septentl où se décharge le Fl. St. Laurent, qui étant principalemt formé par les eaux des Lacs Supérieur et autres, a ses Sources, comme on le voit maintenant, vers les Lacs Sesakmaga et Tecamamiouen, aux environs duquel sont aussi celles de la Riviere de Bourbon.
Quoique nos Officiers aient marqué par des Signes sur les Cartes de leurs Découvertes, les Hauteurs des Terres et le cours des Rivieres, ils ont cependant supposé, comme les Sauvages, de ces Communications prétendues de Rivieres dont le cours est opposé, et auxquelles on ne communique que par des Portages, ainsi qu'on en trouve plusieurs exemples dans les Considérations, pp. 145 et Suiv. Mais pour exprimer l'état naturel du Terrein, au lieu d'employer des Signes, on a représenté ici des Montagnes entre les Sources des Rivres voisines de la partie Occidle du Lac Supérieur, dont les unes s'y déchargent, et les autres coulent à l'Ouest ou au Sud.
Echelle entre le Lac Tecamamiouen et celui des Bois
Echelle depuis le L. Supr jusqu'à Tecamamiouen
Echelle pour le Fl. de l'Ouest
Fort Kamanestigouia
LAC SUPERIEUR
Baye de Hudson
Mer de l'Ouest
Mississipi
Louisiane
Canada
Lac Michigan
Lac Huron
Lac Bourbon
Lac des Assinibouels
Lac des Christinaux
Lac des Ouachipouanes
Lac des Nadoussis ou Sioux
Lac des Tintons
Lac Ouinipigon
Lac des Bois
Lac des Prairies
Lac des Assiniboels
Lac des Issati
Lac des Ilinois
Lac des Portages
Lac Long
Lac Plat
Lac Sesakmaga
Lac Tecamamiouen
Lac Michigamakinak
Lac Michigan ou des Illinois
Fort Albany
Fort York autrefois de Bourbon
Fort Churchill
Fort St. Charles
Fort St. Pierre
Fort Bourbon
Fort Dauphin
Fort de la Reine
Fort de Maurepas
Fort de la Mer du Nord
Fort de la Mer de l'Ouest
Fort de la Mer du Sud
Fort de la Mer de l'Est
Fort de la Mer de Canada
Fort de la Mer de Louisiane
Fort de la Mer de Hudson
Fort de la Mer de Mississipi
Fort de la Mer de Michigan
Fort de la Mer de Huron
Fort de la Mer de Superieur
Fort de la Mer de Ouachipouanes
Fort de la Mer de Nadoussis ou Sioux
Fort de la Mer de Tintons
Fort de la Mer de Ouinipigon
Fort de la Mer de Bois
Fort de la Mer de Prairies
Fort de la Mer de Assiniboels
Fort de la Mer de Issati
Fort de la Mer de Ilinois
Fort de la Mer de Portages
Fort de la Mer de Long
Fort de la Mer de Plat
Fort de la Mer de Sesakmaga
Fort de la Mer de Tecamamiouen
Fort de la Mer de Michigamakinak
Fort de la Mer de Michigan ou des Illinois
Fort de la Mer de Albany
Fort de la Mer de York autrefois de Bourbon
Fort de la Mer de Churchill
Fort de la Mer de St. Charles
Fort de la Mer de St. Pierre
Fort de la Mer de Bourbon
Fort de la Mer de Dauphin
Fort de la Mer de la Reine
Fort de la Mer de Maurepas
Fort de la Mer du Nord
Fort de la Mer de l'Ouest
Fort de la Mer du Sud
Fort de la Mer de l'Est
Fort de la Mer de Canada
Fort de la Mer de Louisiane
Fort de la Mer de Hudson
Fort de la Mer de Mississipi
Fort de la Mer de Michigan
Fort de la Mer de Huron
Fort de la Mer de Superieur
Fort de la Mer de Ouachipouanes
Fort de la Mer de Nadoussis ou Sioux
Fort de la Mer de Tintons
Fort de la Mer de Ouinipigon
Fort de la Mer de Bois
Fort de la Mer de Prairies
Fort de la Mer de Assiniboels
Fort de la Mer de Issati
Fort de la Mer de Ilinois
Fort de la Mer de Portages
Fort de la Mer de Long
Fort de la Mer de Plat
Fort de la Mer de Sesakmaga
Fort de la Mer de Tecamamiouen
Fort de la Mer de Michigamakinak
Fort de la Mer de Michigan ou des Illinois
Fort de la Mer de Albany
Fort de la Mer de York autrefois de Bourbon
Fort de la Mer de Churchill
Fort de la Mer de St. Charles
Fort de la Mer de St. Pierre
Fort de la Mer de Bourbon
Fort de la Mer de Dauphin
Fort de la Mer de la Reine
Fort de la Mer de Maurepas
Echelles
26 50 75 100 125 Li. ou 5 Degrés
25 50 75 100 125 Lieues dont 28 au Degré
Delahaye l'Aîné Sculpsit

routes ou rivieres qui conduisent à la grande riviere de l'Ouest, En conséquence je me suis fait tracer la carte de ses trois rivieres affin de pouvoir choisir le chemin le plus court et le plus aisé. J'ay eu l'honneur, Monsieur, de vous envoyer cette carte telle qu'Auchagah me l'a tracée des trois rivieres qui tombent dans le lac Superieur, Sçavoir celle qu'on nomme la riviere du fond du Lac, celle de Nantoüagan et celle de

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that there are three routes or rivers which lead to the great river of the West. Consequently I had a map made of these three rivers, in order that I might be able to choose the shortest and easiest road. I had the honour, Monsieur, of sending you that map as it was traced for me by Auchagah,[1] showing the three rivers which flow into Lake Superior, namely the one called Fond du Lac river,[2] the Nantouagan [3]

[1] This map was evidently preserved for some time in France, as a tracing of it was made by Philippe Buache, and reproduced on his *Carte Physique des terrains les plus élevés de la partie occidentale du Canada*, 1754.

[2] St. Louis river, which rises in St. Louis County, Minn., and, after a course of about 220 miles, enters the western extremity of Lake Superior near the city of Duluth. Its source is not far from Birch lake, whose waters reach the boundary system at Basswood lake. It furnished, therefore, a possible, though a difficult, canoe route from Lake Superior to the interior. In La Jemeraye's map the source is carried to the west of the Lake of the Woods, and this error is substantially repeated on several of the French maps printed in the eighteenth century. The North West Company built a post at the mouth of the river many years later, as headquarters for the Fond du Lac department.

[3] Pigeon river, through which the International Boundary runs westward from Lake Superior. This appears as the 'Nantohouaganne' on Auchagah's map. Delisle gives it as the 'R. des Assenipoils,' and on Pownall's map of 1775 it is indicated as 'Grosillers R.' This latter name is supposed to have been given by Radisson, in honour of his companion and brother-in-law, Medard Chouart, Sieur des Groseilliers. Radisson and Chouart are said to have explored the western and northern coasts of Lake Superior about 1662–63, but the evidence at present available is inconclusive. From a small bay south of the mouth of the river, the Indians had established a portage to surmount the falls on the Pigeon river. This was the long-famous Grand Portage, used throughout the days of the fur trade, French and British. See Dr. Elliott Coues' exhaustive notes on Grand Portage, and the Grand Portage route, in his *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest*, i. 6 *et seq.*; also Dr. R. G. Thwaites' note in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, xix, 169–70, and xi, 123–25.

Camanistigoüia, et les deux dernieres sont celles où tout se trouve plus exactement marqué dans la carte, les lacs, les rapides, les portages, le côté dont il faut faire ces portages, les hauteurs des terres ; tout cela y est representé ou indiqué ; C'est de ces deux routes la riviere de Nantoüagan qui est à deux journées de la riviere Camanistigoüia, en allant vers le fond du Lac Superieur, est celle ce me semble devoir estre preférée, elle a à la vérité quarante-deux portages pendant que celle de Camanistigoüia n'en a que vingt-deux, mais aussy elle n'a point de rapide, et l'autre en a douze, dont il y en a deux qui sont longs et fort plats, d'ailleurs le chemin est droit, et d'un tiers plus court, la hauteur des terres par cette route n'est qu'a 50 lieues, et au bout de 70 au plus on va toujours en descendant, enfin malgré tous les portages le Sauvage m'assure qu'à marcher doucement

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and the Kaministikwia.[1] The two latter are those on which everything is marked with exactness on the map, lakes, rapids, portages, the side on which the portage must be made, and the heights of land ; all this is represented or indicated. Comparing these two routes, the river Nantouagan, which is two days' journey from the river Kaministikwia going towards the extremity of the lake, is, it seems to me, the one to be preferred. It has, it is true, forty-two portages, while the Kaministikwia has only twenty-two ; but, on the other hand, it has no rapids, while the other has twelve, two of which are long and very shallow. Besides, the road is straight and one third shorter. The height of land for this route is not over fifty leagues distant, and after seventy leagues at most there is a steady descent. Finally, in spite of all the portages, the savage assures me that, with easy travelling, we shall get from Lake Superior to Lake

[1] The route to Rainy lake by way of the Kaministikwia was first discovered by Jacques de Noyon, about the year 1688. An account of his journey is given in a memoir by the Intendant Begon, of November 12, 1716. See Burpee's *Search for the Western Sea*, pp. 197 *et seq.*

nous arriverons du Lac Superieur à celuy de Tecamamioüen à vingt jours au plus tard, et de la en quatre, au Lac des Bois, et dix au Lac Oüinipigon il est venu ce printems des Cris ou Christinaux qui habitent vers la decharge des Lacs des Bois ou commence la grande rivière de l'Ouest, Ces Sauvages sont La Marteblanche, et deux autres Chefs de la même nation, ils m'ont fait la carte de leur terre, et de celles dont ils ont connoissance qui est la même que la première. c'est dans les terres qui sont sur la gauche de cette grande riviere en la descendant que se trouvent les mineraux et les métaux en quantités, parmy les metaux qui s'y trouvent ils connoissent le plomb et le cuivre ; mais il y en a une troisieme sorte qui ne s'applatit point quand on la bat, mais qui casse, ils ne connoissent pas cette derniere,

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Tecamamiouen[1] in twenty days at the most, and from there in four days to the Lake of the Woods,[2] and in ten to Lake Winnipeg.[3] Some Cree or Christinaux, who live towards the outlet of the Lake of the Woods, where the great River of the West has its beginning, came this spring. These savages are La Marteblanche and two other chiefs of the same tribe. They made me a map of their own country and of that of which they have knowledge, and it agrees with the first ; it is in the lands that are to the left of the great river as you follow it down that minerals and metals are found in quantity. Amongst the metals, they are acquainted with lead and copper; but there is a third kind which does not flatten out, but breaks, when hammered. They do not

[1] Rainy lake, or Lac la Pluie of the French. On the geography and nomenclature of the lake, see Coues, *op. cit.* i, 18–19.

[2] Lac des Bois, as it appears in the original. The lake has also been known as Lac des Isles, Lac des Sioux, Lake of the Sand Mounds, and several Indian designations. See Coues, *op. cit.* i, 22 *et seq.*

[3] The name is derived from the Cree word *Wi-nipi* or *Win-nepe*, turbid water. The variants range from Ouinipique, Alepimigon and Vnipignon to Winepic and Winnipeggon-e-sepe. See Burpee, *op. cit.* pp. li–lii; and Coues, *op. cit* i, 37–38.

sa couleur blanche leur fait croire que c'est de l'argent. Suivant leur carte qui est la même que celle d'Auchagah, le bas du fleuve de l'Ouest court à l'Ouest-Nord-Ouest, ils assurent qu'il y a des blancs à l'embouchure du fleuve, qu'ils n'ont point de connoissance quelle nation ce peut être que la longueur du chemin fait qu'aucun d'eux n'ose entreprendre d'y aller, qu'il faudroit partir du Lac des Bois dès le mois de mars pour en pouvoir faire le voyage que tout ce qu'on pourroit espérer ce seroit d'en estre de retour au mois de novembre ; ce qu'ils en rapportent est sur des ouy dire, mais ce qui les détournent le plus d'entreprendre le voyage de la mer, c'est qu'il perit autrefois par les glaces a ce qu'ils rapportent deux de leurs canots à dix journées du Lac Oüinipigon. La frayeur les retiens, et d'ailleurs ils trouvent chés les Anglois du petit Nord qui ne sont qu'a

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know what it is, but its white colour makes them think it is silver.[1] According to their map, which agrees with the one made by Auchagah, the lower portion of the Western river runs west-north-west. They state that there are whites at the mouth of the river, but that they do not know to what nation they belong, the length of the journey being such that none of them venture to go there ; one would have to start from the Lake of the Woods in the month of March in order to make the journey and could not hope to get back before November. What they report is founded on hearsay. What chiefly deters them from making the journey to the sea is that on a former occasion, according to their story, two of their canoes were lost in the ice ten days' journey from Lake Winnipeg. Fear holds them back, and besides, as they can get all their wants supplied by the English of the near north, who are distant only twenty days' travel,

[1] Pierre Charles Le Sueur reported the discovery of lead mines on the Upper Mississippi in 1693, and copper in the same region in 1700. Silver, gold and iron are all found in the country between Lake Superior and the Lake of the Woods ; but not between the latter lake and Lake Winnipeg.

vingt jours de marche de chés eux, tous leurs besoins, qu'iroient-ils chercher de plus à la mer d'Ouest, il n'y a point d'apparence en voyant la carte telle qu'ils l'ont tracée que le fleuve ait communication avec la Mer du Nord : comme il y a plusieurs rivieres par la hauteur qui est dans la carte au Sud-Ouest vers le lac Oüinipigon, il est probable que de cette hauteur il y en a aussy qui descendent a la mer de l' Ouest; pour estre en êtat de s'eclaircir de la vérité, il faudroit faire un établissement au Lac Oüinipigon. La Marteblanche m'a promis de m'y conduire, ou comme il est vieux de m'y faire conduire par son fils, ce lac est environ a 500 lieues de la riviere Camanistigoüia, en partant de Montreal au mois de may on peut se rendre en septembre au Lac Oüinipigon depuis le fond du Lac Superieur jusqu'au Lac des Bois, il y a aussy loin que depuis sa decharge de ce second lac, à aller au Lac Oüinipigon, avec cette difference qu'il

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what more would they go to seek at the Western Sea ? Looking at the map as they have traced it there is no appearance of the river communicating with the Northern Sea. As there are several rivers, in the latitude shown by the map, to the south-west towards Lake Winnipeg, it is probable that from the same latitude there are also some flowing to the Western Sea. To be able to settle this point, we should have to establish a post at Lake Winnipeg. La Marteblanche has promised to take me there, or, as he is old, to have me taken by his son. This lake is about five hundred leagues from the river Kaministikwia.[1] Leaving Montreal in May, you can get to Lake Winnipeg in September. From the head of Lake Superior to the Lake of the Woods the distance is the same as from the outlet of the latter to Lake Winnipeg,

[1] The actual distance by the Kaministikwia canoe route is about 558 miles, and by the Grand Portage route, 521 miles. Taking the French league as 2·42 English miles, 500 leagues would be equivalent to about 1200 miles—a rather extravagant estimate even on a basis of Indian reports.

n'y a que deux cascades où l'on fait portage dans toute la grande riviere de l'Ouest, au lieu que du Lac Superieur au Lac des Bois pendant une centaine de lieues ce ne sont presque que portages sur portages. Les deux cascades dont je viens de parler se trouvent dans un terrein de pierre a fusil, Le grand fleuve qui va a la mer est la decharge du Lac, et de la grande riviere qui s'y jette en courant toujours à Ouest ; Ce grand fleuve court aussy Ouest pendant l'espace de dix journées, après quoy il détourne un peu Ouest-Nord-Ouest, c'est des lors qu'on s'apperçoit du flux et reflux, telles

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with this difference that there are only two rapids requiring portages in the whole great river of the West,[1] whereas from Lake Superior to the Lake of the Woods, a distance of a hundred leagues,[2] you have portage after portage all the way. The two rapids I have just mentioned are in a rocky formation consisting of gun flint.[3] The great river which goes to the sea is the discharge of the lake and of the large river which empties into it flowing west. This great river (the first mentioned) also flows west a distance of ten days' journey, after which it turns for a little west-north-west; and it is from that point that the rise and fall of the tide becomes percep-

[1] The length of the Winnipeg river from the Lake of the Woods to Lake Winnipeg is 145 miles; and its course is broken by the following falls and rapids: Rapides des Dalles, Grande décharge, Yellow Mud falls, Petit Rocher, or Charette, décharge, Pine or White Earth rapid, Cave rapid, De l'Isle rapid, Grand Galet, Grande Pointe des Bois, Petite Pointe des Bois, Petit Rocher Brulé, Slave falls, Barrière chute, Otter falls, The Seven Portages, First Galet du Bonnet, Second Galet du Bonnet, Big Bonnet falls, Rocher du Bonnet rapid, White Mud falls, Des Chênes falls, First Eaux qui Remuent falls, Second Eaux qui Remuent falls, Manitou rapid. The actual portages on the Winnipeg river are not two, but thirty-one, including Rat portage, at the outlet of Lake of the Woods.

[2] This would imply that the distance from Lake Superior to Lake Winnipeg was 200 leagues, instead of 500 leagues as previously mentioned. The second guess is not far out, as will be seen by reference to the former note (p. 57).

[3] The rocky formation along the Winnipeg river is red granite and hornblende-granitite.

sont les connoissances que m'ont donné les chefs Cris. Leur carte contiennent tous les pays qu'ils ont parcourus du Nord au Sud et depuis le Lac des Bois jusqu'au fleuve de l'Ouest, toute la droite de la grande riviere en descendant depuis le Lac des Bois jusqu'au Oüinipigon, est occupée par les Cris, et c'est le pays de l'orignal et des marthes, Le castor y est si fort en abondance que les Sauvages n'en font pas d'etat et ne ramassent que les grandes peaux qu'ils envoyent chés les Anglois, ces gens-la s'habillent l'hyver de robes de castors et le printems ils les jettent faute de commerce, La gauche de la même riviere est habitée par les

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tible.[1] Such is the information given me by the Cree chiefs. Their map shows all the countries they have traversed from north to south and from the Lake of the Woods to the river of the West. The whole right bank of the great river as you go down from the Lake of the Woods as far as Lake Winnipeg is held by the Cree, and it is the country of the moose [2] and marten,[3] while beaver [4] is so plentiful that the savages place little value on it and only collect the large skins which they send to the English. These people dress themselves in winter in beaver skins and in spring they throw them away, not being able to sell them. The left bank of the same river

[1] Disregarding the directions, it is conceivable that 'the great river which goes to the sea,' of which the Indians told La Vérendrye, was the Nelson. In interpreting ill-understood Indian accounts, with no personal knowledge of the region, and with a keen desire to discover a westward-flowing river, La Vérendrye might readily have been led into such an error. Indian references to the rise and fall of the tide would be eagerly seized upon by the explorer, but, even assuming that the Indians had not been down the Nelson to Hudson Bay, they might have been speaking of Lake Winnipeg. On the apparent phenomenon of tides on that lake, see the *Search for the Western Sea*, p. 237. A similar tidal ebb and flow was attributed by early travellers to Lake Superior, and to Green Bay.

[2] The primitive range of the moose included all the country between Lake Superior and Lake Winnipeg; in fact it extended—and in a large measure still extends—from Nova Scotia to Alaska. See Ernest Thompson Seton, *Life Histories of Northern Animals* (New York, 1909), ch. iv.

[3] *Ibid.* ch. xl.

[4] *Ibid.* ch. xvi.; Martin, *Castorologia* (London, 1892).

Assiniboils et les Cioux, c'est un pays fertile en métaux, et ou le bœuf sauvage est abondant ; S'ils parlent de plus loin c'est presque toujours sur des ouy dire, et c'est sans grande assurance. Après ce détail, Monsieur, il ne me reste qu'a vous représenter l'importance qu'il me semble y avoir de presser cette decouverte. Les Cris sont en commerce avec les Anglois, où ils sont interprettés par les gens des terres, et il est naturel qu'ils y parlent du projet d'avoir des françois chés eux, et qu'ils donnent les mêmes connoissances

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is inhabited by the Assiniboin and the Sioux ; the country is rich in metals, and buffalo are abundant.[1] If they speak of places beyond it is nearly always on hearsay and without any great certainty.

After these details, Monsieur, it only remains for me to represent to you the importance, as it seems to me, of proceeding promptly with this exploration. The Cree are trading with the English, finding interpreters in the Indians of the neighbourhood, and it is natural that they should speak there of the prospect of having French among them,

[1] The primitive range of the buffalo, according to Hornaday, Allen, Seton, and other authorities, was confined on the north to a line extending from the western extremity of Lake Superior, in a general north-westerly line, to the southern shore of the Lake of the Woods, thence to the southern end of Lake Winnipeg, and thence to Lake Athabaska. Alexander Henry, the elder, travelled from Grand Portage to Lake Winnipeg in 1775, but says nothing about buffalo ; nor do any later travellers over the same route. In his *Account of the Countries adjoining Hudson Bay* (1744), however, Arthur Dobbs gives the narrative of Joseph La France, who travelled from Grand Portage to Lake Winnipeg in 1740, and who reports buffalo along Rainy river, and even as far east as Grand Portage. La Vérendrye's statement may probably be taken in a broad sense as referring to the country of the Sioux and Assiniboin, south of the Winnipeg river, but not necessarily in its immediate neighbourhood. That would embrace a district unquestionably within the known range of the buffalo. On the incalculable numbers of the buffalo, up to the close of the period of French rule in Canada, and for nearly a century thereafter, see Hornaday, *Extermination of the American Bison* (Report of the U.S. Nat. Mus., July 1887. Washington, 1889) ; Catlin, *North American Indians* ; Allen, *American Bisons* (Mus. Comp. Zool., Harvard Coll., 1876) ; Henry, *Travels and Adventures* (Boston, 1901) ; Hendry, *Journal* (*R.S.C. Trans.* 1907).

qu'ils ont donné icy, L'Anglois a tout interest à nous prevenir, et sy on en donne le tems il ne perdra pas l'occasion de le faire. D'ailleurs c'est un nouvel avantage pour la Colonie independamment de la decouverte de la Mer de l'Ouest par la quantité de pelleteries qui s'y fera et qui se perdent chés les Sioux et Assiniboils ou qui par le moyen des Cris vont aux Anglois ; J'esperois voir ce printems beaucoup de Cris et Assiniboils sur ce qu'ils m'avoient promis le printems passé 1729 venir a mon poste de Camanistigoüia, La mort d'un de leur grand Chef fort considéré leur a fait rompre leur dessein, et leur a fait prendre le party d'aller en guerre

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and that they should give the same information they have given to us here. The English have every interest in getting ahead of us, and if we allow them time they will not lose the chance of doing it.[1] Besides, the colony will receive a new benefit independently of the discovery of the Western Sea through the quantity of furs that will be produced and which now go to waste among the Sioux and Assiniboin, or by means of the Cree go to the English. I hoped this spring to see many Cree and Assiniboin, according to the promise they made me last spring, 1729, to come to my post at Kaministikwia. The death of one of their principal chiefs, a man of high consideration, has caused them to change their plan and decided them to go to war in the direction of the

[1] The English—that is, the Hudson's Bay Company—had already to some extent anticipated French fur-traders in the north-west by sending Henry Kellsey inland from Port Nelson in 1691. Kellsey's narrative (which will be found in the Appendix to the *Hudson's Bay Report*, 1749) is so vague, and susceptible of so many interpretations, that his destination has been held by different investigators to have been anywhere from Reindeer lake in the north to the Missouri in the south, with the Rocky Mountains as an intermediate theory. There is very little probability of this expedition having had its origin in any fear of French competition among the western tribes. It is more arguable, however, that a later journey on behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company, of a similar nature, may have had some such foundation, though it did not actually take place until after the death of the elder La Vérendrye. This expedition, of Anthony Hendry, was in the years 1754–55, from York Factory to the upper waters of the Saskatchewan, the country of the Blackfeet.

du côté des Espagnols pour venger cette mort êtant leur maniere, Je n'ay pu savoir que par deux Sauvages des terres dont l'un est un des chefs des Mousong qui rapporte avoir été a la hauteur des terres qui sont au Nord-Ouest du fleuve en 1728, assure qu'il y a des blancs et on veu scier des planches et qui se servent de chaloupes suivant la description qu'ils font de leurs canots, ce qui a paru les surprendre fort, parce que dans toute cette grande etenduë de pays l'on n'y voit ni fusil ni hache, qu'il y a beaucoup de sorte de bois, qu'ils ne connoissent point les animaux ; d'autres m'ont rapportés avoir vû des gens qui disoient avoir descendu au bas du grand

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Spaniards to avenge his death according to their custom. I have only succeeded in getting information from two savages of the country, one of whom is a Monsoni [1] chief, who relates that he went as far as the height of land to the north-west of the river in 1728: they state positively that there are whites, and that they have seen wood sawn into boards; these people, too, use boats, according to the description they give of their canoes.[2] This appeared to astonish them a good deal, because in all that great extent of country such a thing as an axe or a gun is never seen. There are a great many different kinds of wood there, and the animals are strange to them. Others have told me that they had seen people who said that they had gone down to the foot of the

[1] The *Mongsoaeythinyuwok* or 'Moose people' of Franklin. They are of Algonquian stock, and closely related to the Cree. Their home has been in the country south-west of Hudson Bay, but Dobbs mentions a band on the west side of Rainy river, near Rainy lake, a few years after the date of this journal. They are frequently mentioned in the Jesuit Relations. See Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*.

[2] From the known range of the Monsoni, it is probable that the whites of whom La Vérendrye was told were H.B.C. people, though he evidently supposed them to be Spaniards. At the same time it may be noted that from the earliest times the Indians had, for reasons best known to themselves, confidently reported to the French the existence of white men in the west. See, for instance, Laverdière's *Champlain*, iv. 72.

fleuve que ce n'etoit que Nations Sauvages qu'a la decharge du fleuve ils avoient apperçû une grande isle en mer qui leur paroissoit habitée, Voila, Monsieur, tout ce que j'ay pû apprendre de nouveau cette année, sy sous le bon plaisir de Sa Majesté vous voulés bien m'honnorer de vos ordres pour aller etablir un poste au Lac Oüinipigon, j'auray l'honneur dans la deuxième année de vous donner des certitudes de cette Mer.

15. *Octob.* 1730. *M. le M^is. de Beauharnois.*

Monseigneur

J'ay l'honneur de vous Envoyer la Copie d'une Carte du cours du fleuve de l'oüest faite par le sauvage Ochagac et autres.

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great river, and only savage tribes were met with; at the mouth of it they had seen a great island in the sea which seemed to be inhabited.

That is all, Monsieur, in the way of new information that I have been able to obtain this year. If, subject to His Majesty's good pleasure, you should see fit to honour me with your instructions to go and establish a fort at Lake Winnipeg, I shall have the honour in the second year thereafter to give you positive information respecting the Sea in question.

Beauharnois to Maurepas.

October 15, 1730.

Monseigneur,

I have the honour to send you a copy of a map of the course of the river of the West, made by the savage Auchagah and others.

Si ces sauvages accusent juste ce fleuve doit se decharger au dessus de la Californie, le S. Chaussegros a marqué sur la carte du S. de l'Isle sur une feüille volante le cours de ce fleuve reduit suivant la carte, Il trouve que ce Fleuve va se decharger vers l'Entrée decouverte par Martin Daguilar, Il a aussi reduit la carte des Sauvages ou il y a trois Echelles, et la sienne est faite sur une seule, ou l'on voit tout le cours de ce fleuve depuis la hauteur des terres qui Sont au dessus du Lac Superieur jusques au dessus de la californie, Les sauvages ont marqué dans la carte le haut du fleuve Missisipy qui prend Sa source au Sud du Lac Ouinipigon, et dans la

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If the account of these savages is accurate that river must discharge above California. The Sieur Chaussegros[1] has traced, from the Sieur de l'Isle's[2] map on a loose sheet, the course of that river reduced according to the map. He finds that the river discharges towards the entrance discovered by Martin Daguilar.[3] He has also reduced the savages' map, on which there are three scales, while his is drawn to one only and shows the whole course of the river from the height of land beyond Lake Superior to above California. The savages have traced on the map the upper portion of the Mississippi river which takes its rise to the south of Lake

[1] Gaspard Chaussegros de Léry (1682–1756), an eminent French engineer, who came to Canada in 1716 to superintend the building of the fortifications of Quebec and Montreal. He prepared a plan of the cathedral at Quebec in 1725.

[2] Claude de l'Isle and his son Guillaume, the most eminent French cartographers of their day. Their first map of Canada appeared in 1703. Guillaume de l'Isle published a memoir in 1706, in which he claimed the discovery of the *mer de l'ouest*, which he said he had laid down on a MS. map of the world given by him to the Chancellor Boucherat in 1697. He asserted that in 1700 he had given to the Minister Pontchartrain proofs of the existence of the Western Sea.

[3] Martin Aguilar, a Spanish explorer of the seventeenth century, who explored the coast of California, and was supposed to have discovered an inlet or channel on the north-west coast of America, which appears under his name on several contemporary maps.

carte du S. de l'Isle la riviere Rio Colorado prendroit sa source vers le meme Endroit.

J'ay remarqué avec le S. Chaussegros que ce pays étant traversé par deux grands fleuves qui prennent leurs sources vers le milieu, l'un cours vers l'Est qui est celuy de S^{t}. Laurent, un autre au sud qui est le missisipy, il resteroit a l'ouest une Espace de pays de Sept ou huit cent lieües de large sans avoir aucune grande riviere, cela seroit contre toutes les connoissances qu'on a des pays qui sont connus dans le monde ; ou dans une si grande Espace, il y a toujours quelque grand fleuve qui la traverse, Ce qui me fais penser que les sauvages pouroient accuser juste, n'etant pas naturel que dans une si grande Espace il ne se trouve pas une grande riviere ou fleuve, et il paroist que le fleuve dont parlent les Sauvages se decharge a la mer du sud, on a connoissance des rivieres marquées sur la carte du S. de l'Isle et par le rumb de Vent que les Sauvages donnent au fleuve d'oüest il vient se rendre

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Winnipeg, and according to the Sieur de l'Isle's map the river Rio Colorado would take its rise about the same spot.

I observed with the Sieur Chaussegros that this country is traversed by two great rivers which take their rise about the middle : one flows toward the east which is the St. Lawrence, the other to the south which is the Mississippi. There would remain to the west an extent of territory from seven to eight hundred leagues in width, without any large river in it. This would be contrary to all the knowledge we have of countries that are known in the world ; where in so vast an area there is always some great river that traverses it ; which leads me to think that the savages may tell the truth, for it is not natural that in so vast an extent there should not be a great river ; and it seems that the river of which the savages speak discharges into the southern sea. We know the rivers indicated on the Sieur de l'Isle's map, and, according to the course that the savages give to the river of the West,

a l'Entrée nouvellement decouverte par Martin Daguilar ou on ne connoist aucune riviere au dessus ou au nord.

J'ay l'honneur d'estre avec un tres profond respect ;

Monseigneur

Votre tres humble et tres

obeissant Serviteur

a Quebec ce 15e. Octobre 1730. BEAUHARNOIS.

Lettre de Messieurs de Beauharnois et Hocquart
À Québec le 15 *Octobre* 1730.

Monseigneur

Le Sieur De la Véranderie dont il vous a esté adressé des mémoires touchant la découverte de la Mer de L'ouest, nous a proposé en conséquence de cette découverte d'aller faire un establissement sur les bords du Lac Ouinipigon,

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it flows to the entrance recently discovered by Martin Daguilar, where we know of no other river above or to the north.

I have the honour to be, with very profound respect,

Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient Servant,

BEAUHARNOIS.

Beauharnois and Hocquart[1] *to Maurepas.*[2]

Quebec, October 15th, 1730.

Monseigneur,

The Sieur de la Vérendrye, some memoirs from whom touching the discovery of the Western Sea have been addressed to you, has proposed to us in consequence of that discovery to go and establish a post on the shores of Lake

[1] Gilles Hocquart, Intendant of New France, 1731–48. See Roy, *Intendants de la Nouvelle France* (*R.S.C. Trans.* 1903).

[2] Jean Frédéric Phélippaux, Comte de Maurepas (1701-1781), Minister of Marine and the Colonies under Louis XV, 1723–49.

550 lieues au dessous du poste de Gamanastigo8a d'où il vient de commander, et d'où il a acquis les lumières qu'il paroist avoir sur la découverte de la Mer de l'Ouest.

Il a joint à sa proposition de se charger de trouver des voyageurs pour le conduire dans cet endroit et d'en emmener au nombre de soixante sans que Sa Majesté soit tenue d'aucuns frais pour cette entreprise que de quelques présents qu'il sera obligé de faire aux nations sauvages par où il passera, et qui ne monteront pas à des sommes considérables.

Cet officier, Monseigneur, a fondé son entreprise sur le raport que les sauvages luy ont fait, que de l'establissement proposé au Lac Ouinipigon, il n'y avoit que dix journées courant à l'ouest pour se rendre à la Mer de ce nom, et quinze ou vingt en courant à l'Ouest Nord Ouest.

Après avoir examiné les propositions du S[ieu]r De la

Winnipeg five hundred and fifty leagues below the post of Kaministikwia which he lately commanded[1] and where he acquired the information he appears to possess respecting the discovery of the Western Sea.

He adds to this proposition an undertaking to find voyageurs to conduct him to that place, and to take with him men to the number of sixty, without obligation on His Majesty's part to incur any expense for the expedition, save for a few presents that will have to be made to the savage tribes through whose territories he will pass, which will not amount to any great sum.

This officer, Monseigneur, has based his enterprise on the report that the savages have made to him to the effect that from the proposed post on Lake Winnipeg it is only ten days' journey westward to reach the sea of that name, and fifteen or twenty going in a direction west-north-west.

After having examined the propositions of the Sieur de la

[1] La Vérendrye's command embraced both this post and that of Nipigon, with headquarters at the former.

Véranderie, le peu de dépense à quoy Sa Majesté sera tenue, et le motif de son voyage, nous nous sommes déterminez, Monseigneur, à luy permettre de monter le printemps prochain dans cet endroit, pour après y avoir fait son establissement, suivre les veües que la Cour paroist avoir de parvenir à cette découverte.

Il nous en a rendu les moyens sensibles par ce qu'il nous en a dit, et que vous pouvez voir, Monseigneur, tant par ses précédents mémoires que par celui que M[onsieur] le Marquis de Beauharnois a l'honneur de joindre à sa lettre particulière avec la carte qui a esté faite sur le brouillon que les sauvages ont fait, et qui luy a esté adressé. Nous nous flatons, Monseigneur, que vous ne desaprouverez pas, que nous ayons pris sur nous de permettre au S[ieu]r de la Véranderie l'entreprise de cet establissem[en]t qui ne renferme en soy qu'un très grand avantage pour la colonie tant par l'abondance des pelleteries qui sont dans cet endroit

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Vérendrye, and taken into consideration the slight expense to which His Majesty would be put, and the object of the voyage, we have decided, Monseigneur, to let him go up to that place next spring on the understanding that after he has established his post he shall be guided by the views the Court may appear to entertain respecting the prosecution of the discovery in question.

What he has told us of his plans and means makes the thing seem feasible ; but you can judge of the matter for yourself, Monseigneur, both by his preceding memoirs and by the one which the Marquis de Beauharnois has the honour to attach to his private letter accompanying the map made after a rough sketch by the savages and addressed to him. We flatter ourselves, Monseigneur, that you will not disapprove of our having taken upon ourselves to permit the Sieur de la Vérendrye to undertake this establishment which can only result in a great advantage for the colony, not only on account of the abundance of peltries obtainable in that locality

qui vont aux Anglais par le canal des Sauvages Criks, qu'à cause de sa proximité à la Mer de l'Ouest, ainsy que les Sauvages le prétendent et l'asseurent pour y avoir esté.

Nous ferons remettre au S[ieu]r De la Véranderie pour environ deux mille livres de présents dont il ne disposera que de concert avec le R[évéren]d P[ère] Sempé, missionnaire qui doit faire le voyage avec luy et dont l'un et l'autre nous rendront compte.

Nous sommes avec un très profond respect, Monseigneur
Vos très humbles et très obéissants serviteurs

BEAUHARNOIS.
HOCQUART.

A Québec
le 15 octobre 1730.

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which now go to the English through the Cree[1] Indians, but also on account of the proximity of the place to the Western Sea as asserted and certified by the savages on the strength of having been there themselves.

We shall deliver to the Sieur de la Vérendrye about two thousand livres worth of presents, of which he will only dispose in conjunction with the Reverend Father Sempé,[2] missionary, who is to make the journey with him, and an account of which will be rendered by both.

We are, with very profound respect,
Monseigneur,
Your very humble and obedient servants,

BEAUHARNOIS.
HOCQUART.

[1] 'Criks' in the original, another variant of the Cree name. Charlevoix has 'Criques,' and Henry, 'Criqs.' Similar forms are Bacqueville de la Potherie's 'Kricqs,' and, in the *Lettres Edif.*, 'Kriqs.'

[2] Jean Baptiste Saint Pé. Born 1686. Rochemonteix (*Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France*, i. 227) says that when Saint Pé was Superior of the Mission in Canada, La Vérendrye applied to him for a chaplain, and that Father Coquart was appointed. This, however, was not until 1741. It does not appear from La Vérendrye's journals that Father Saint Pé himself accompanied him to the west. He was Superior from 1739 to 1748.

Lettre de Monsieur de la Véranderie, le premier aoust 1731 *à Missilimakinac.*

Monseigneur

Sur les mémoires que j'ai eu l'honneur de présenter à M[onsieu]r le Marquis de Beauharnois notre Général et qu'il a envoyés à Votre Grandeur, il m'a fait l'honneur de me détacher pour m'envoyer établir le Lac Ouinipigon avec cinquante hommes et un Missionnaire ; j'auray celuy de l'informer l'année prochaine bien exactement de toutes les particularités de mon voyage ; s'il juge à propos de m'envoyer pénétrer jusques dans L'Ouest, je serai toujours prêt à partir

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La Vérendrye to Maurepas.

Michilimackinac,[1]
August 1, 1731.

Monseigneur,

In consequence of the memoirs which I have had the honour to present to the Marquis de Beauharnois, our General, and which he has sent to Your Highness, he has done me the honour to detach me to go and establish a post at Lake Winnipeg with fifty men and one missionary. Next year I shall have that of informing him very exactly respecting all the particularities of my journey ; and, if he considers it advisable to send me to penetrate into the heart of the west,

[1] Now Mackinac. A missionary station and trading post on the straits between Lakes Huron and Michigan, established 1668. It was for many years, under both French and British rule, a distributing point for traders bound either for the west or south-west. According to Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians,* Mishinimakinung means ' place of the big wounded person,' or ' place of the big lame person.' The derivation of the name is from that of a supposed extinct Algonquian tribe, the Mishinimaki or Mishinimakinagog. On the other hand, Cadillac, in his Relation of 1718 (*Wis. Hist. Coll.* xvi. 350) says ' Missilimakinac means in our language Isle de la Tortue (Turtle Island). This may be due either to its shape or to the fact that a turtle was found in the vicinity.' Alexander Henry (*Travels,* pp. 37–38) says the common interpretation of the word is ' the Great Turtle.' Carver translates the name as a Tortoise. Parkman and Elliott Coues follow Alexander Henry's version. Michilimackinac was the scene of the famous massacre of 1763, described by Alexander Henry, and by Parkman in the *Conspiracy of Pontiac.*

avec mon neveu La Gemeraye qui est mon second et mes trois enfans que j'ai ici avec moy :

Je prens la liberté de représenter à Votre Grandeur, que dans l'entreprise que je fais, je ne cherche qu'à porter le nom de Sa Majesté et ses armes, dans une grande étendue de pais inconnus, d'egrandir la colonie et d'y augmenter le commerce ; je la supplie très humblem[en]t de m'accorder pour cinq années, sans y comprendre celle cy le Nord, scavoir : Camanistigouyas et le Nipigon, exempt de congé pendant le d[it] tems pour me servir d'entrepost à l'entreprise que je fais, afin d'y laisser, hommes, vivres et canots ; les frais

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I shall be ready at once to start with my nephew La Jemeraye,[1] who is my second in command, and my three children[2] whom I have here with me.

I take the liberty of representing to Your Highness that in my present enterprise I am only seeking to carry the name and arms of His Majesty into a vast stretch of countries hitherto unknown, to enlarge the colony and increase its commerce. I therefore humbly beg you to grant me for a period of five years without counting this one the North, that is Kaministikwia and the Nipigon, with exemption from *congé* for the said period, so that I may avail myself of them as entrepôts for the enterprise I have in hand and leave men there with provisions and canoes.[3] The expenses I have

[1] Christophe Dufrost, Sieur de la Jammeraye (or La Jemeraye) (1708–1736). His mother was a sister of La Vérendrye. He was stationed at Fort Beauharnois (built on the shores of Lake Pepin, Mississippi river, 1728) in 1729, and afterwards joined his uncle in the search for the Western Sea.

[2] See pp. 3, 8.

[3] In effect, he asks for a monopoly of the fur trade tributary to these two posts, and to that end that the usual *congés* or licences should not be issued to others so far as this district was concerned. These *congés* were granted by the Court to some of the poorer gentry in Canada, entitling them to trade in the Indian country. If they did not wish to use the licence personally, they could sell it. La Potherie says a *congé* sold, about 1660, for from eight to twelve hundred francs. The privilege was withdrawn periodically because its abuse was ruining the fur trade, but personal influences, or the paternal policy of the Court, repeatedly revived the practice.

que j'ai fait avec quelques personnes qui m'accompagnent jusques à présent pour l'établissement de ce Poste, sont très considérables ; je ne prendrois point la liberté d'importuner Votre Grandeur, sy je pouvois me passer du Nord pour entrepost ; c'est toute la grâce que je lui demande pour le présent ; sy Dieu me fait la grâce de réussir, j'aurai l'honneur de lui en aller porter moi même des nouvelles et lui représenter mes services depuis trente deux ans, avec cinq grandes blessures sur le corps ; j'ose me flatter qu'elle aura la bonté d'y avoir égard.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec un très profond respect, Monseigneur De Votre Grandeur, le très humble et très obéissant serviteur

A Missilimakinac
Le prem^er^. aoust
1731.

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incurred, with a few persons who are accompanying me, up to the present, for the establishment of this post, are very considerable. I should not take the liberty of troubling Your Highness were I able to dispense with the north as an entrepôt. This is the only favour I am asking for the present. If God grants me the grace to succeed I shall have the honour of going myself to bring the news to Your Highness, and represent to you my thirty-two years of service with five severe wounds on my body ; and I venture to flatter myself that you will kindly take them into consideration.

I have the honour to be, with profound respect,
Monseigneur,
Your Highness's very humble and very obedient servant.[1]

[1] Not signed.

[*Mémoire*]

Voyez le Reg. de M[onsieur] Raudot Cotte 8 1737 8° le mémoire sur l'entreprise de M[onsieur] de la Véranderie pour la découverte de la Mer d'Ouest.

Monseigneur

Il y a un peu plus d'un an que l'on me communiqua les veües de M[onsieur] de La Véranderie au sujet de la Mer de l'Ouest ; j'y trouve beaucoup de choses qui s'accordent avec ce que j'ay recueilly dans mon voyage, et je compris que le raisonnement de cet officier dont j'ay ouy dire du bien en Canada, qu'il est très propre à l'expédition qu'il

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Charlevoix[1] *to Maurepas.*

Monseigneur,

It is a little over a year since the views of Monsieur de la Vérendrye on the subject of the Western Sea were communicated to me.[2] Many of his ideas agree with the impression I received in my travels, and I understood [from] [3] the reasoning of that officer, whom I heard well spoken of in Canada, that he is a person well qualified for the expedition

[1] Although unsigned, and without place or date, internal evidence points to Father Charlevoix as the author of this critical report on La Vérendrye's project. Pierre-François-Xavier de Charlevoix (1682–1761) visited Canada in 1705–1709, during which period he gathered the material for his *Histoire et Description Générale de la Nouvelle France*. He again came to Canada in 1720, under orders from the Court to report on the most practicable route for an expedition to the Western Sea. He visited missions and trading posts throughout the west, and returned to France in 1723 by way of Mobile. His report to Maurepas is dated Jan. 20, 1723.

[2] A marginal note on the original reads : ' See the Reg. of Monsieur Raudot, jacket 8 1737 8°, the Report upon the enterprise of Monsieur de la Véranderie for the discovery of the Western Sea.' Jacques Raudot (1647–1728) was Intendant of New France 1705–1711. His son Antoine Denis, born 1679, assisted his father in the office during the period 1705–10. See Régis Roy, *Les Intendants de la Nouvelle France* (*R.S.C. Trans.* 1903). The reference above is probably to the son, Antoine Denis Raudot, who is described as possessing the confidence of the Court, and was no doubt consulted from time to time on matters relating to Canada. He died some time after January 1739.

[3] In the original the sentence is not complete, but the meaning seems to be given by supplying the word ' from.'

propose, c'est ce qui m'engagea dans le tems à en parler à V[otre] G[randeur], mais il me parût qu'elle n'étoit pas encore dans la disposition de suivre ce projet et cela m'empêcha d'en parler d'avantage.

Une lettre que j'ay receü par les derniers vaisseaux du Supérieur de nos missions de Canada réveille mes espérances sur un dessein que j'ay toujours eu extrêmmement à cœur, pour lequel lorsque j'en fus chargé en 1720 par feu M[onsei]g[neu]r le Duc d'Orleans, j'estois résolu à sacrifier les plus belles années de ma vie, et que je regarde comme tres capable d'illustrer votre ministère. Ce Père me marquoit qu'on demandoit un Jésuite pour accompagner ceux qui devoient aller à la découverte de la Mer de l'Ouest, ce qui me fit juger qu'on y pensoit sérieusement, je me persuaday alors qu'il éstoit de mon devoir de joindre quelques réflexions à celles de M[onsieur] de la Véranderie, et c'est après en avoir

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he proposes. That is what led me at the time to mention the matter to Your Highness; but I judged that you were not prepared to give effect to the scheme, and that prevented me from pursuing the subject.

A letter which I received by the last ships from the Superior of our missions in Canada revives my hopes regarding a scheme which I have always had very much at heart, and to which, when I was entrusted with it in 1720 by the late Duke of Orleans,[1] I was resolved to sacrifice the best years of my life, and which I regard as capable of shedding glory on your administration. The Father I refer to informed me that a Jesuit was required to accompany those who were to go in search of the Western Sea, which led me to conclude that the idea was being seriously entertained. I was then persuaded that it was my duty to add a few reflexions to those of Monsieur de la Vérendrye, and having obtained the per-

[1] Philippe, Duke of Orleans, grandson of Louis XIII, was born August 4, 1674. He was Regent of France during the minority of Louis XV. Died December 2, 1723.

eu la permission de V[otre] G[randeur] que je prend la liberté de les luy adresser.

1°. J'estime assés inutiles les établissemens dont parle cet officier S'il entend autre chose parler, que des entreposts pour y passer l'hyver, quand on se sera entièrement déterminé à la route qu'on doit tenir, car je ne crois pas les connoissances que M[onsieur] de la Véranderie a tirées des Sauvages de son poste plus certaines que celles qu'on a d'ailleurs ny que celles que j'ay moy même tirées d'un plus grand nombre de sauvages de différentes nations, d'ailleurs ces établissements seroient d'une petite dépense, tireroient la découverte en longueur et pourroient dégénérer en traittes de pelleteries, éceuil qu'on a toujours appréhendé et avec raison dans les divers projets qui ont estés donnés pour cette entreprise.

2°. Quoyque je n'aye jamais esté d'avis qu'on s'engageast

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mission of Your Highness I now take the liberty of addressing them to you.

Firstly: I regard as of little value the establishments of which that officer speaks; that is to say if he means by 'establishment' anything more than entrepôts in which to pass the winter when a final decision shall have been arrived at respecting the route to be followed; for I do not believe that the intelligence obtained by Monsieur de la Vérendrye from the Indians of his post is any more reliable than what has been gathered from other sources, or that which I have myself derived from a greater number of savages of different tribes. Moreover, these establishments would be a slight expense, would delay the work of exploration, and might degenerate into a mere business of fur trading, a danger that has always been dreaded, and with good reason, in the different projects that have been put forward in connection with this enterprise.

Secondly: Although I have never thought it advisable

trop au milieu des Sioux et des Assiniboils et cela pour les mêmes raisons qu'en apporte M[onsieur] de la Véranderie, je suis pourtant convaincu qu'il ne faut pas trop s'en éloigner, ces peuples sont ceux de tous les sauvages qui par eux-mêmes et par leurs alliés connoissent mieux les quartiers de l'ouest et du nord ouest, de plus il est nécessaire d'avoir connoissance du Lac des Assiniboils, que bien des raisons me persuadent êstre la véritable hauteur des terres d'où il faut prendre au moins sa direction pour aller à la Mer de l'Ouest, outre que la découverte de ce lac est par elle même un objet important.

3°. La découverte de la Mer d'Ouest est une affaire qu'il faut faire de suitte et sans s'arrester, mais après qu'on aura fait quelque tems la guerre à l'œil dans les postes avancés et pris toutes les seuretés pour les guides, ainsy je croy qu'il

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that we should commit ourselves too far in the midst of the Sioux and the Assiniboin, and that for the same reasons that Monsieur de la Vérendrye mentions, I am at the same time convinced that we ought not to keep too much aloof from them ; for of all the savages they are the ones who of themselves and through their allies have the fullest knowledge of the countries lying to the west and north-west. Moreover, it is necessary to obtain some information respecting the Lake of the Assiniboin,[1] which many reasons persuade me is the true height of land from which we must take at least our direction in order to go to the Western Sea, not to mention the fact that the discovery of this lake is of itself an object of importance.

Thirdly : The discovery of the Western Sea is a matter which should be carried through continuously and without a stop, but after war has been carried on openly for a while in the advance posts and after all possible surety has been taken for the guides. I therefore think that the person undertaking

[1] Lake Winnipeg, or the Lake of the Woods. In the memoir of Beauharnois and Hocquart, following, the latter is suggested.

faut que celuy qui la fera ne prenne sa dernière résolution pour la route qu'il tiendra qu'après un ou deux ans de petites excursions dans le voisinage des Postes du Lac Supérieur, il doit aussy estre fort instruit de tout ce qui a esté dit jusqu'à présent par ceux qui ont travaillé sur cette matière, ces connoissances luy donneront lieu de faire bien des questions aux sauvages et luy serviront à mieux juger de leurs réponses, il faut aussy qu'il ait des cartes bien exactes du Nouveau Mexique et de la Californée, afin de ne pas aller se jetter dans la Mer Vermeille où la rivière Rouge dont parle M[onsieur] de la Véranderie a bien la mine de se décharger.

4°. Toutte la dépense que demande une telle expédition, se réduit à quelques vivres aisés à porter, à des munitions dont une partie servira à chasser pour le besoin, et à quelques présens pour les sauvages, mais il est nécessaire que ceux qui y seront employes ayent tout a espérer de la Cour, à

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it should not decide finally on the route to be followed until after a year or two of short excursions in the neighbourhood of the posts of Lake Superior. He ought also to be thoroughly instructed in all that has been said up to the present time by those who have worked on this thing. Such knowledge will suggest many questions to him to be asked of the savages, and will enable him to judge better of their replies. He must also have very exact maps of New Mexico and of California, in order that he may not stumble on the Vermilion Sea[1] into which there is every appearance that the Red river spoken of by Monsieur de la Vérendrye discharges.

Fourthly: The whole expense needed for such an expedition would only amount to a stock of provisions easy to carry, arms and ammunition which would partly serve for necessary hunting, and a few presents for the savages. It is necessary, however, that those who shall be employed should have everything to hope for from the Court; and to that end I

[1] Gulf of California.

cet effet j'ay toujours eu dans la pensée qu'il falloit les choisir dans les cadets et les jeunes officiers canadiens et y joindre quelques sergents des troupes, l'espérance qu'on leur donnera d'estre placés ou avancés sur le témoignage que le Commandant rendra de leur conduite, suffira pour les tenir dans la subordination, et une petitte troupe bien disciplinée et composée de gens capables de sentimens, fera beaucoup plus que ne feroit une plus grande attirée par le seul intérest, un petit nombre de congés distribués à propos leur donneront de quoy s'équiper et acheter des canots, ainsy cette dépense ne sera point encore sur le compte du Roy.

5°. Ce qui coûtera le plus et qui est d'une nécessité indispensable, ce seront les sauvages qu'on prendra pour guides et pour découvrement, ces derniers surtout seront d'un grand usage pour empêcher le party de tomber à l'impourveue dans des endroits occupés par des Espagnols ou d'autres Européens ; car il y a tout lieu de croire qu'on en rencontrera,

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have always thought that they would have to be chosen from Canadian cadets and young officers, and that to these should be joined a few sergeants from the regular troops. If they were then encouraged to hope for permanent employment or advancement according as they were favourably reported on by the commander they would be held in subordination, and a small troop, well disciplined and composed of men capable of [generous] sentiments, will accomplish more than a larger one actuated by self-interest alone : a small number of [trading] permits distributed judiciously would give them the means of equipping themselves and buying canoes, and the King would thus be relieved of another charge.

Fifthly : The heaviest charge and a quite indispensable one would be for the savages employed as guides and for scouting. The latter especially will be of the greatest value in preventing the party from falling unawares into places occupied by Spaniards or other Europeans, for there is every

toutes les relations qu'on m'a données dans mon voyage parlent de gens fort différents des sauvages, et il en est aussy fait mention dans le mémoire de M[onsieur] de la Véranderie, mais je croy qu'il faudra avoir 2. ou trois Abénakis, gens seurs, fidèles et braves, il sera bon aussi de mener quelques jeunes enfans qu'on laissera de distance en distance dans les villages qu'on rencontrera, pour y apprendre la langue, en prenant des ôtages s'il est possible de même âge ausquels on puisse apprendre le françois.

Voilà, M[onsei]g[neu]r, quelles ont esté de tous tems mes veües pour une découverte que le ciel paroist vous avoir réservée, et quand j'ay parlé d'un établissement aux Sioux, c'est que les personnes à qui j'ay eu l'honneur de rendre compte de mon voyage n'estoient point d'avis qu'on tentast

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reason to believe that some will be met with. All the reports that I received in my journey tell of people very different from the savages, and mention is also made of them in the memoir of Monsieur de la Vérendrye. It will be necessary, I think, to have two or three Abnaki,[1] men sure, faithful and brave. It will be a good thing too to bring along some young children and leave them in different villages encountered along the route to learn the language, and to take hostages, if possible, of the same age to whom we might teach French.

Such, Monseigneur, have all along been my views in connection with a discovery which heaven appears to have reserved for you, and if I have spoken of an establishment in the Sioux country, it is because persons to whom I have had the honour of giving an account of my journey thought

[1] An Algonquian confederacy, whose country was in what now constitutes the State of Maine. See Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*. Why these far eastern Indians should be thought particularly well qualified to assist in an expedition across the far western plains is not very apparent, but in the next memoir Beauharnois and Hocquart hint at a personal reason.

la découverte autrement que par des établissements de proche en proche, cette voye seroit bien à la vérité la plus sûre, mais elle est fort longue et engage nécessairement dans de grandes dépenses, au reste il se peut faire absolument que la Mer d'Ouest soit si éloignée, et le chemin pour y aller si impraticable que cette découverte ne nous soit d'aucune utilité, mais elle peut estre aussy assés proche et d'un accès facile et nous avons des rivaux qu'il faut prévenir, d'ailleurs il nous arrivera peut estre en le cherchant ce qui est souvent arrivé en semblables occasions qu'en cherchant ce qu'on ne trouverra pas nous trouvions ce que nous ne cherchions pas et qui ne nous seroit pas moins avantageux. Enfin il n'est pas indifférent pour le progrès des deux colonies que nous avons

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it unadvisable to attempt the discovery otherwise than by means of establishments at short distances along the route. That method of proceeding would certainly be the safest, but it would be very slow and would involve great expense. After all it is possible that the Western Sea is so distant and the road thither so impracticable, that the discovery would be of no advantage to us. On the other hand it may also be comparatively near and easy to reach, and we have rivals whom we ought to anticipate[1]; and then, besides, in our search for it that may happen which has often happened in like circumstances, namely, that, in searching for what we are not destined to find, we may find what we were not looking for and what would be quite as advantageous to us as the object of our search.[2] Finally, for the progress of the two colonies[3] that we have on this great continent, it is not a

[1] Possibly the Hudson's Bay Company in the north, or the Spaniards in the south.

[2] Here, at least, Charlevoix shows himself shrewd and far-sighted. La Vérendrye ultimately failed to reach the Western Sea, but he discovered what was of infinitely more value, the vast fertile plains of the north-west.

[3] Canada and Louisiana.

dans ce grand continent, de connoître ce qui le borne à l'ouest et au nord.

A ces considérations j'en adjoute une qui sera sans doute d'un grand poids auprès d'un ministre qui a autant à cœur que vous l'avés, la publica[ti]on de l'Evangile parmi des nations nombreuses qui n'ont point encore entendu parler de Jésus-Christ, c'est que chemin faisant on pourra prendre des mesures pour ménager dans ces vastes contrées des établissements également utiles à la religion et à l'Etat, il seroit même difficile qu'un Religieux passâst trois ou 4^e^ ans à parcourir ces contrées sans y avoir occasion de procurer par le baptême l'entrée du ciel à plusieurs enfans moribonds, j'ay eu plusieurs fois cette consolation pendant ma course et il n'en est point de plus flatteuse pour des personnes de mon Etat.

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matter of indifference to know what bounds it on the west and on the north.

To these considerations I would add another which cannot but have great weight with a minister who has as much at heart as you have the preaching of the Gospel among the numerous tribes that have never heard of Jesus Christ; and that is that, as we worked westward, we could take measures for setting up in those vast territories establishments equally useful to religion and to the State. A priest could hardly spend three or four years in traversing those regions without having the opportunity of procuring the admission to heaven through baptism of several moribund infants. I have several times had that consolation myself during my journey, and there is none that is more pleasing to men of my profession.

Lettre de Messieurs de Beauharnois et Hocquart
A Québec ce 1er Octobre 1731.

Monseigneur

Nous avons reçeu avec la lettre que vous nous avés fait l'honneur de nous écrire le 15. May dernier, le mémoire qui vous a esté présenté sur l'entreprise du S[ieu]r de la Véranderie et sur lequel vous avés agréable de nous demander notre avis, Nous avons lû ce mémoire avec attention, et quoy qu'il ne renferme rien que d'avantageux pour cette entreprise, les idées de l'auteur ne peuvent êstre suivies dans beaucoup de choses, nous en marquons les raisons par la réponse que nous faisons et qui est jointe à la copie de ce mémoire.

Nous avons l'honneur d'estre avec un très profond respect, Monseigneur, Vos très humbles et très obéissants serviteurs

BEAUHARNOIS
HOCQUART

A Québec ce p^r^.
octobre 1731.

Beauharnois and Hocquart to Maurepas.

Quebec, 1st October, 1731.

Monseigneur,

We have received the letter which you did us the honour to write to us on the 15th of May last. We have read with attention the report[1] which was presented to you relating to the undertaking of the Sieur de la Vérendrye, and respecting which you have been pleased to ask our opinion; and although it contains nothing that is not favourable to that enterprise, the ideas of the author are, in many points, impracticable. We indicate our reasons for this opinion in the reply we are making, and which is attached to the copy of the report in question.

We have the honour to be, with profound respect,

Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servants,

BEAUHARNOIS.
HOCQUART.

[1] The preceding report, by Father Charlevoix.

Pour repondre aux articles du mémoire cy à côté
Québec le 10 *octobre* 1731.

Lorsque l'officier chargé de l'entreprise de la découverte de la Mer de l'Ouest a parlé dans ses mémoires de faire un établissement au Lac Ouinipigon ou dans les endroits où il seroit obligé d'hyverner, il n'a pas entendu parler d'autre chose, que d'un entrepost à pouvoir se réfugier, et afin d'estre à portée de faire connoissance avec les Assiniboils ou d'autres sauvages capables de pouvoir luy donner des lumières sur une affaire qui n'est encore qu'ébauchée et qui demande cette précaution par rapport aux éclaircissemens qu'il est nécessaire d'avoir et que l'on ne peut tirer que des sauvages.

L'on ne doit donc point regarder cet établissement ou entrepost que comme un objet qui n'a d'autre but que celuy de dégénérer en traittes de pelleteries, et si l'on a appréhendé

Reply to the articles of the Report.

Quebec, October 10, 1731.

When the officer entrusted with the enterprise of the discovery of the Western Sea spoke in his reports of making an establishment at Lake Winnipeg or in the places where he might be obliged to winter, he never meant to speak of anything but an entrepôt where he might find shelter, and be able at the same time to make acquaintance with the Assiniboin or other savages who could throw light on a matter of which only the general outlines have been drawn and which demands this measure of precaution considering how much light is required on the subject and how dependent we are on the savages for it.

There is no ground therefore for regarding this establishment or entrepôt as intended to degenerate into a market for peltries. If there have been apprehensions on this score

cet écueil par le passé, il ne doit pas estre regardé comme tel aujourd'huy, puisque la durée de ces établissements dépend du procès de cette entreprise qui en est le mobile, et qui ne subsisteront qu'autant que l'apparence de réussir sera certaine.

Il n'étoit pas possible au surplus de pouvoir rien enttreprendre sans accorder au S[ieur] de la Véranderie le commerce de ces cantons là. Le Roy n'ayant pas jugé à propos d'entrer dans les dépenses dont cet officier s'est chargé, il falloit trouver de quoy l'indemniser, et il ne paroist pas de moyens plus convenables que le fruit même de ses travaux.

L'auteur du memoire a raison de convenir, qu'encore que son avis ne fût pas qu'on s'engageâst trop chez les Sioux, qu'il ne faut pas trop s'en éloigner, et l'avantage que nous avons desja tiré du premier établissement quon y a fait en 1727 est d'autant plus grand, qu'il n'y a point à douter que

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in the past there is no longer any ground for them as the duration of such establishments depends on the advancement of the enterprise which is the sole reason of their existence ; unless there is a clear prospect of its success they will not be maintained.

It was not possible, moreover, to undertake anything [in the direction mentioned] without granting to the Sieur de la Vérendrye the trade of those settlements, the King not having thought proper to provide for the expenses which that officer has assumed ; some means had to be found of indemnifying him, and no more suitable means is in sight than to let him enjoy the fruit of his own labours.

The author of the report is right in holding that although it is not desirable to enter into too close relations with the Sioux, yet it is not expedient to keep at too great a distance from them, and the advantage which we have already drawn from the first establishment made among them in 1727 is brought out all the more clearly by the fact, which no one

si on l'eût négligé, les sauvages Renards seroient devenus invincibles par le refuge qu'ils auroient trouvés chés les Sioux qui ne se sont déclarés leurs ennemis, que par l'amitié et la connoissance que les francois venoient de contracter avec eux. Il résulte de là qu'il ne paroist pas plus d'inconvénient de s'établir chés les Assiniboils ; si l'établissem[en]t des Sioux a paru nécessaire l'autre l'est d'avantage par la relation qu'il est indispensable d'avoir avec les Assiniboils pour s'en pouvoir servir et pénétrer le plus avant que faire se poura.

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can doubt, that if we had neglected to make it the Fox[1] Indians would have become invincible through being able to fall back on the Sioux, who only declared themselves their enemies in consequence of the friendship and acquaintance which the French had just contracted with them. It hence results that, to all appearance, there cannot be any more disadvantage in establishing ourselves among the Assiniboin [than there was in the other case]. If the establishment among the Sioux seemed to be necessary, the other is even more so, owing to the absolute necessity we are under to have relations with the Assiniboin, in order to be able to make use of them, and penetrate as far as possible into the country beyond.[2]

[1] An Algonquian tribe, occupying during the French régime what is now the State of Wisconsin, or that portion of it around Lake Winnebago. Their name is said to have had its origin in the fact that the French first came in contact with some members of the Fox clan, and gave their name to the whole tribe.

[2] Beauharnois, in a letter to the minister dated October 1, 1731, says: 'On the other hand this [the re-establishment of the post among the Sioux] was needed for the success of the undertaking of the Sieur de la Vérendrye, in so far that it is absolutely necessary that that nation be in our interest, to allow of our trading with the Assiniboin and Cree, through whose country one must pass to proceed to the discovery of the Western Sea.' And in a report signed by Beauharnois and Hocquart, and dated October 12, 1731, it is said: 'The Sieur de Beauharnois has the honour to submit to you, Monseigneur, the reasons that determined his action by a private letter to which he appends a note respecting the journey of the Sieur de la Vérendrye who also asked for the re-establishment of that post (among the Sioux) in order to place us in a position to establish a trade with the Assiniboin and the Cree through whose country we must pass to discover the Western Sea.' The private letter referred to herein is missing.

Après avoir traitté de la nécessité de ces Etablissements, je passeray à la connoissance du Lac des Assiniboils que l'auteur marque qu'il est nécessaire de connoitre ; ce Lac ainsy nommé des Assiniboils ne paroist autre que le Lac des Bois qui est a 80. lieues au delà du Lac de Tecamamiouen, mais qui n'est pas tellement appellé des Assiniboils qu'il soit le seul autour duquel habitent ces peuples, puisqu'il s'étend jusqu'au Lac d'Ouinipigon où va le S[ieu]r de la Véranderie.

Ainsy si l'auteur convient que le Lac des Assiniboils luy paroist estre la vêritable hauteur des terres et d'où il faut prendre au moins sa direction pour aller chercher la Mer d'Ouest, il est donc nécessaire de s'assurer de la vérité et pour revenir à ce que j'ay desjà dit, avoir un entrepost chés cette nation pour avoir le tems de prendre langue avec elle et pour en tirer s'il est possible toutes les connoissances dont on a besoin.

After having treated of the necessity of these establishments I shall pass to the author's opinion as to the necessity of obtaining information with regard to the Lake of the Assiniboin. The lake so named does not appear to be other than the Lake of the Woods which is eighty leagues beyond Lake Tecamamiouen, but we must not infer from its name that it is the only one around which those people are settled, seeing that it[1] extends as far as Lake Winnipeg, to which the Sieur de la Vérendrye is going.

Consequently, if the author agrees that the Lake of the Assiniboin is the true height of land whence at least we have to take our direction in going in search of the Western Sea, it is necessary to assure ourselves of the truth of that, and, to return to what I have already said, to have an entrepôt in the country of that nation, so as to have time to get into oral communication with them, and obtain from them, if possible, all the information we require.

[1] That is, the tribe of the Assiniboin.

Quoy qu'il soit dit dans ce mémoire que cette affaire demande d'estre faitte de suite, j'ay jugé que cela s'entendoit de ne point perdre son objet de veüe, et on ne pouroit l'interpreter autrement pour peu que l'on réfléchisse sur les mesures qu'il y a a prendre pour se ménager des nations avec lesquelles l'on n'a aucune habitude et qui sont peut estre brouillées et en guerre les unes avec les autres. Il n'en est pas de même de celles qui sont autour du Lac Supérieur dont l'on a connoissance et chés lesquelles le S[ieur] de la Véranderie ne doit point s'arrester, il luy a esté aussy recommandé en partant de ne point passer les 46 degrés de l'atitude Nord, afin qu'il ne s'exposât point à tomber dans le pays des Espagnols et qu'il évitât leur rencontre, il doit au surplus prendre toutes les précautions nécessaires pour l'exécution du projet qu'il s'est formé, et tirer le plus de connoissance qu'il poura des sauvages les plus éclairés

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Although it is stated in this report that the business is one which needs to be prosecuted continuously, I judged his meaning to be that the main object should never be lost sight of; and indeed it is impossible to interpret his words otherwise if one reflects for a moment on the measures that must be taken to get on good terms with tribes with whom we have never had anything to do, and who are perhaps embroiled and at war with one another. It is not the same with those living around Lake Superior, with whom we are acquainted, and with whom there is no need for the Sieur de la Vérendrye to linger.

It was also recommended to him when he left not to go south of the 46th degree of north latitude, so as not to risk finding himself in the country of the Spaniards, and so as to avoid meeting them. He will besides take all necessary precautions for the accomplishment of the project he has in hand, and will get all possible enlightenment from the most intelligent savages of the places he is about to discover, and

des endroits qu'il va découvrir, et il les y engagera d'autant mieux, qu'il emporte avec luy des présens du Roy pour récompenser les guides qu'il prendra dans les endroits qui ne luy seront point connus et pour les interprêtes dont il aura besoin.

Enfin cet officier jaloux du succès de son entreprise paroist ne vouloir rien négliger de tout ce qui poura contribuer à la réussite de cette affaire, et dans ces veües, il a choisy avec luy des personnes qui paroissent le mieux convenir pour cette expéd[iti]on, et qui ne sont point aux charges du Roy, au moyen du traitté qu'ils ont fait ..... le S[ieur] de la Véranderie.

Il n'a pas paru nécessaire de prendre des Abénakis pour ce voyage, et les réflexions que l'on a fait sur ce qui a pû enagager l'auteur du mémoire à les proposer, n'ont pû en faire connoitre l'utilité.

Par les raisons que l'on a eus de tout tems de dérober à ces sauvages la connoissance des pays d'en haut, quel

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he will be the better able to get all the more out of them from the fact that he is taking with him presents from the King to reward the guides he shall engage in places unknown to him and the interpreters he may have to employ.

Finally, the officer in question, naturally jealous for the success of his enterprise, appears anxious not to neglect anything that can contribute to that end, and consequently the persons he has chosen to go with him are those who seemed the best qualified for such an expedition, and these, owing to the agreement they have made [with] the Sieur de la Vérendrye, are not costing anything to the King.

It has not seemed necessary to take any Abnaki for the journey, and after reflection on the possible motives of the author of the report in suggesting their employment we have not been able to discover any utility in the idea.

Our policy at all times has been to withhold from our nearer savages all knowledge of the upper countries, and what

avantage le S[ieu]r de la Véranderie auroit-il tiré de gens qui n'ont aucune idée de ces endroits là, ny qui n'entendent en aucune façon la langue des sauvages qui lest habitent. Il a paru plus convenable et on n'en peut disconvenir de se servir des nations du voisinage du Lac Supérieur, qui coûteront beaucoup moins et qui paroissent plus nécessaires que les Abénakis.

L'idée de mener des enfans qu'on laissera de distance en distance dans les villages par où l'on passera, ne peut avoir son exécution et il est aisé d'en juger à ceux qui connoissent les sauvages dont l'amour pour leurs enfans ne leur permettra jamais de les éloigner deux et de les abandonner à des étrangers, Il n'est point d'enfans dans aucun village qui n'ait père ou mère naturels ou d'adoption, et cette dernière qualité qui vaut parmi eux la première, les rend à l'égard de leur père et mère assés chers et assés jaloux de les

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advantage could the Sieur de la Vérendrye possibly have derived from people who have no idea whatever of those regions nor the slightest knowledge of the languages spoken there ? It has appeared more suitable, and no one surely can deny that it is so, to use the nations in the neighbourhood of Lake Superior who will cost much less and who appear more necessary than the Abnaki.

The idea of taking children who could be left at the different villages passed on the way is impracticable, as anyone can judge who knows the savages ; their love for their children would never permit them to send them away to a distance and abandon them to strangers. There are no children in any village that have neither father nor mother, either natural or adoptive, the latter tie being quite as strong in these communities as the former ; and the children are so dear to their parents, and the parents are so jealous to

garder avec eux, pour qu'on puisse parvenir à les avoir de leur gré quand bien même on leur proposeroit des ôtages.

Ainsy cet article qui ne paroist pas quant à présent fort nécessaire ne peut avoir son exécution de la part des sauvages, mais si le projet du S[ieu]r de la Véranderie a le succès dont il se flatte, l'on poura y suppléer en y envoyant de jeunes Canadiens d'un âge assés meur pour apprendre la langue des sauvages chés lesquels on les laissera et pour servir à l'usage qu'on s'est proposé, Il seroit aussi nécessaire d'y avoir deux Missionnaires, mais quoy que le R[évérend] P[ère] Messager soit desjà party pour y aller, l'on ne peut rien entreprendre de plus que l'on n'ait des nouvelles du S[ieu]r de la Véranderie et que l'on espère recevoir avant deux ans.

BEAUHARNOIS
HOCQUART

A Québec ce 10 8^{bre}. 1731.

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keep them, that you cannot get them to part with them freely even though you offered hostages in exchange.

This proposition, therefore, which does not at present seem very necessary, cannot be carried out so far as the savages are concerned, but if the project of the Sieur de la Vérendrye has the success he expects, we might instead send young Canadians old enough to learn the language of the savages amongst whom they were left, and to serve the purpose proposed. It would also be necessary to have two missionaries; but although the Reverend Father Mesaiger[1] has already left to go there, nothing more can be undertaken till we hear from the Sieur de la Vérendrye, which we hope to do within two years.

BEAUHARNOIS.
HOCQUART.

[1] Charles Michel Mesaiger (1690–1766). He entered the Society of Jesus; came to Canada in 1722, and laboured among the Miami Indians. He returned to France in 1749. See Morice, *Histoire de l'Eglise Catholique dans l'Ouest canadien* ([Saint-Boniface, Manitoba] 1912), i. 17.

Lettre de Monsieur le Marquis de Beauharnois, à Québec le 15 *octobre* 1732.

Monseigneur

J'ay receü des lettres du S[ieur] de la Véranderie chargé de l'entreprise de la découverte de la Mer de l'Ouest et du Révérend Père Mesaigé, par lesquelles ils me marquent que les engagés s'étant rebutés de la longueur du portage de Nantaouagan qui a trois lieues et un quart de long, ils avoient esté obligés de relâcher à Kamanastigoya et d'y hyverner, la saison étant d'ailleurs trop avancée pour risquer de passer outre et de tomber dans des pays où ils auroient peut-estre manqué de vivres, que néantmoins le S[ieur] de la Véranderie avoit fait partir le S[ieur] de la Jemeraye avec trois moyens canots, et qu'il s'etoit rendu avec trois autres qui le suivoient à la décharge du Lac Tecamamiouen à l'entrée de la rivière

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Beauharnois to Maurepas.

Quebec, October 15, 1732.

Monseigneur,

I have received letters from the Sieur de la Vérendrye, who is in charge of the expedition for the discovery of the Western Sea, and from the Reverend Father Mesaiger, who inform me that, the men engaged being discouraged by the length of the portage of Nantaouagan,[1] which is three and a quarter leagues long, they were obliged to stop at Kaministikwia and winter there, the season besides being too far advanced to risk going further and possibly coming to countries where they would have lacked provisions ; that nevertheless the Sieur de la Vérendrye had despatched the Sieur de la Jemeraye with three medium-sized canoes, and that he himself had gone with three others that followed him to the outlet of Lake Tecamamiouen at the entrance

[1] Grand Portage.

qui descend au lac des Bois, ou il a hyverné dans un fort qu'il y a fait construire et qui est par les 47 degres 15. minuttes de l'atitude.

C'est dans cet endroit où le S[ieu]r de la Véranderie a dû se rendre le printemps d'ensuitte, et de là pousser jusqu'au lac des Bois où il doit faire un établissement et envoyer (ainsy qu'il me le marque), le S[ieur] de la Jemeraye visiter la rivière qui conduit de ce Lac à celuy d'Ouinipigon, avant d'y aller faire son établissement, plusieurs sauvages raportant qu'elle est remplie de saults et de rapides, quoy que les sentimens se trouvent partagés.

L'on mande que celle qui descend au Lac des Bois est fort belle, bordée de chênières et où le castor est en

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of the river which flows into the Lake of the Woods, where he wintered in a fort which he caused to be constructed and which is in latitude 47° 15′.[1]

This is the place at which the Sieur de la Vérendrye was to have arrived in the following spring and whence he was to push forward to the Lake of the Woods, where he is to make an establishment. He will also, he tells me, send the Sieur de la Jemeraye to examine the river which leads from that lake to Lake Winnipeg before going there to make his establishment, many savages reporting that it is full of falls and rapids, although opinions on this point are divided.

It is stated that the one which falls into the Lake of the Woods is very beautiful,[2] bordered with groves of oak, and that beaver is there in abundance. This advance is made

[1] Fort St. Pierre, so named by La Jemeraye in honour of his uncle. In his paper on La Vérendrye (*R.S.C. Trans.* 1905, i. 27), Judge Prud'homme says that the ruins of the fort were then still to be seen. As it was a timber fort, he means no doubt that the site could be identified. R. J. N. Pither, who was agent of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Frances many years ago, remembered seeing the site on Pither's Point.

[2] Rainy river, known in La Vérendrye's day as Tecamamiouen, or Tekamamihoenne.

abondance ; c'est sur le raport de quelques françois qui y ont esté que l'on étably cet avancé.

Par la route que le S[ieur] de la Jemeraye a tenue, il conte 47. portages pour se rendre du Lac Supérieur à celuy de Tecamamiouen ; néantmoins, en tenant la route qui est au nord de celle qu'ils ont prise, l'on n'en conte que neuf et les chemins plus praticables ; c'est une découverte qu'ils ont faite sur le raport des sauvages et de quelques françois qui en ont connoissance.

Il adjoute, Monseigneur, qu'à son arrivé au Lac Tecamamiouen, il a envoyé des sauvages de cet endroit chargés de présens, inviter les Cristinaux et les Assiniboils de le venir voir, mais que l'hyver a esté si rude qu'il n'en avoit vu aucun ; que ces nations sont presque toutes en guerre les unes avec les autres, et que cette rupture empêche que l'on ne trouve

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on the strength of a report by some Frenchmen who have been there.[1]

By the route which the Sieur de la Jemeraye followed he counts forty-seven portages between Lake Superior and Lake Tecamamiouen ; by taking a more northerly route[2] only nine are counted and the trails are more practicable. They found that out by a report made by some savages and a few Frenchmen who have knowledge of the facts.

He adds, Monseigneur, that, on his arrival at Lake Tecamamiouen, he sent some savages of the locality, laden with presents, to invite the Cree and the Assiniboin to come and see him, but that the winter was so severe that he did not see one of them ; that these nations are nearly always at war with one another, and that it is consequently difficult to find

[1] Probably Zacharie Robutel de la Nouë, who is said to have built a temporary trading post on Rainy lake in 1717 ; or possibly Jacques de Noyon, who descended Rainy river to the Lake of the Woods about 1688.

[2] By way of the Kaministikwia river ; or possibly a variant of the Grand Portage route.

facilement des guides pour les endroits dont on n'a point de connoissances, qu'il a néantmoins arresté plusieurs partis de guerre et empêché les Monsonis d'aller frapper sur les Sioux éloignés des prairies, et qu'à l'arrivée du S[ieur] de la Véranderie l'on travaillera à concilier tous les esprits.

C'est, Monseigneur, tout ce que j'ay appris touchant le voyage du S[ieu]r de la Véranderie qui adjoute qu'il ne négligera rien pour parvenir à sa découverte et pour que les établissements qu'il fera soient avantageux à la colonie.

J'ay l'honneur d'estre avec un profond respect,
Monseigneur, Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur

BEAUHARNOIS.

A Quebec ce 15.
octobre 1732.

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guides for the places one knows nothing about; that nevertheless he stopped several war parties, and prevented the Monsoni from going to attack the Sioux living at a distance on the prairies, and that when the Sieur de la Vérendrye arrives an effort will be made to bring about a general reconciliation.

This, Monseigneur, is all I have learnt respecting the journey of the Sieur de la Vérendrye, who adds that he will neglect nothing to achieve his discovery, and to render the establishments he shall make advantageous to the colony.

I have the honour to be,
With profound respect, Monseigneur,
Your very humble and very obedient servant,

BEAUHARNOIS.

Copie de la Lettre du S. Laverendrye écrite à M. le Marquis de Beauharnois dattée du fort S^t. Charles au Lac des Bois Le 21 May 1733.

Monsieur

J'ay l'honneur de vous envoyer mon neveu La Jemeraye pour vous informer de tout ce que j'ay fait et découvert depuis mon arrivée dans ces terres, je n'ay pu établir le Oüinipon l'année dernière à cause de la difficulté que les Sauvages m'ont fait du chemin et de l'impossibilité de trouver du monde par la crainte de mourir de faim dans ces endroits, de plus les canots venants de Montréal n'auroient pu nous venir trouver la mesme année, ils ne sont arrivés icy qu'aux premières glaces.

Je me suis étably avec le conseil du R.P. Messager à L'Ouest du Lac des Bois distance de près de deux cent

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La Vérendrye to Beauharnois.

Dated at Fort Saint Charles,
on the Lake of the Woods.
May 21, 1733.

Monsieur,

I have the honour to send you my nephew La Jemeraye to inform you of all I have done and discovered since my arrival in this region. I was not able to establish the fort at Winnipeg last year owing to the difficulty the savages made about the road and also owing to the impossibility of getting men on account of their fear of dying of starvation in those parts. Moreover, canoes coming from Montreal would not have been able to get to us the same year. They did not arrive here till the ice was beginning to form.

I have established myself, by the advice of the Reverend Father Mesaiger, on the west side of the Lake of the Woods, nearly two hundred leagues from Kaministikwia, at the mouth

lieues de Kamanistigoya à l'entrée d'une rivière, il y a bonne pesche et chasse, quantité de folles avoines, de très bonnes terres nettes par le feu que je fais semer actuellement.

Nous sommes avec les Cristinaux et près des Assiniboils, il n'en est point encore venû au fort par une peur qu'on leur a fait de nous que mon neveu aura l'honneur de vous conter.

Tous les Sauvages qui sont icy aiment fort la guerre, je les ay tous arresté l'année derniere, pour cette année je me suis trouvé dans l'obligation de leur permettre avec deffenses d'aller chez les Scioux des rivieres, ce qu'ils m'ont promis, ils vont tous du costé des prairies.

J'ay envoyé mon neveu et mon fils à Ouinipigon pour y

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of a river.[1] There is good fishing and hunting, quantities of wild oats, and excellent land cleared by fire which I am now putting in seed.

We are with the Cree and near the Assiniboin. None of them have yet come to the fort as they have in some way been made afraid of us, as my nephew will explain to you.

All the savages around here are very fond of war. I stopped them all last year, but this year I had to let them go on with it, forbidding them, however, to go to the river Sioux,[2] which they promised not to do; they are all going in the direction of the prairies.

I have sent my nephew and my son to Ouinipigon to put

[1] Fort St. Charles. See Beauharnois' memoir of September 28, 1733, and footnote (pp. 102–3).

[2] Sioux of the River, or Sioux of the Mississippi, as distinguished from the Sioux of the Plains, whose lands were west of the Mississippi. Hennepin, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, found the former between the Mississippi and Mille Lacs. Fort Beauharnois, on Lake Pepin, was in the country of the Sioux of the River in La Vérendrye's day. Carver, in 1766, says: 'Near the river St. Croix reside three bands of the Naudowessie Indians, called the River bands . . . because they chiefly dwell near the banks of this river; the other eight are generally distinguished by the title Naudowessies of the Plains, and inhabit a country that lies more to the westward.'

construire un fort et inviter les Sauvages de cet endroit à venir icy, je compte qu'ils l'auront finy au mois d'aoust prochain au retour de nos canots. Je remets à mon neveu à avoir l'honneur de vous informer de la scituation de nostre fort et de celuy de Tekamamiouen que j'ay conservé à la sollicitation des Monsonys.

La folle avoine que nous avons trouvé en abondance nous a donné occasion de conserver le bled que nous avons aporté l'automne dernier pour les semences, ce qui nous mettra dans le cas de n'en plus achetter par la suitte à Missilimakinac et nous épargnera bien de la dépense, et le chemin d'icy à Kamanistigoya est tel que les Sauvages me l'ont dit et m'en ont donné la carte, il y a plus des trois quarts des portages

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up a fort there[1] and to invite the savages of that place to come here. I expect that they will have it finished by the month of August next on the return of our canoes. I leave to my nephew the honour of informing you of the situation of our fort and of the one at Tecamamiouen, which I have kept at the solicitation of the Monsoni.

The wild oats[2] which we have found in abundance have enabled us to save the corn, which we brought up last autumn, for seeding, so that we shall not have to buy any more in future at Michilimackinac, and shall thus be saved a great deal of expense. The road from here to Kaministikwia is as it was described to me by the savages, and according to the map they gave me. There is a difference of more than

[1] Fort Maurepas. So named in honour of the minister of Marine and the Colonies. It was built on the Red river, and afterwards removed to the Winnipeg, not far from its mouth. John McDonnell, of the North-West Company, passed here in August 1793, and in his journal says that upon a high round knoll near the last rapid and on the north-east shore of the Winnipeg river there had stood a French fort, of which there was then not a vestige remaining except the clearing.

[2] Wild rice (*Zizania aquatica*), a staple food of the tribes about the Great Lakes and the country between Lake Superior and the Red river. See Jenks, *Wild-Rice Gatherers of the Upper Lakes* (19th Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1900).

de difference, ils m'ont assuré que les grands canots y pouvoient passer, mon neveu en vous presentant la carte aura l'honneur de vous en faire le reçu, en diminuant les portages on diminuera les gages des engagez, ce qui rendra ce poste bien plus avantageux par la suitte, les Sauvages y estants en grand nombre il y a lieu d'esperer que l'on tirera force pelletries qui vont aux Anglois qui sont à la Baye d'Hudson, tant qu'il y aura des françois au passage des Sauvages ils n'iront point chercher l'Anglois qu'ils n'aiment pas et mesme qu'ils meprisent en disant que ce ne sont point des hommes comme le françois et qu'ils ont peur d'eux ne laissants entrer que quelques vieillards dans leur fort, que le françois est bien différent ne craignant rien et étant bien faisant.

Vous verrez aussy, Monsieur, par la carte le chemin qu'il faut tenir pour aller à la Mer de l'Ouest, mon neveu vous

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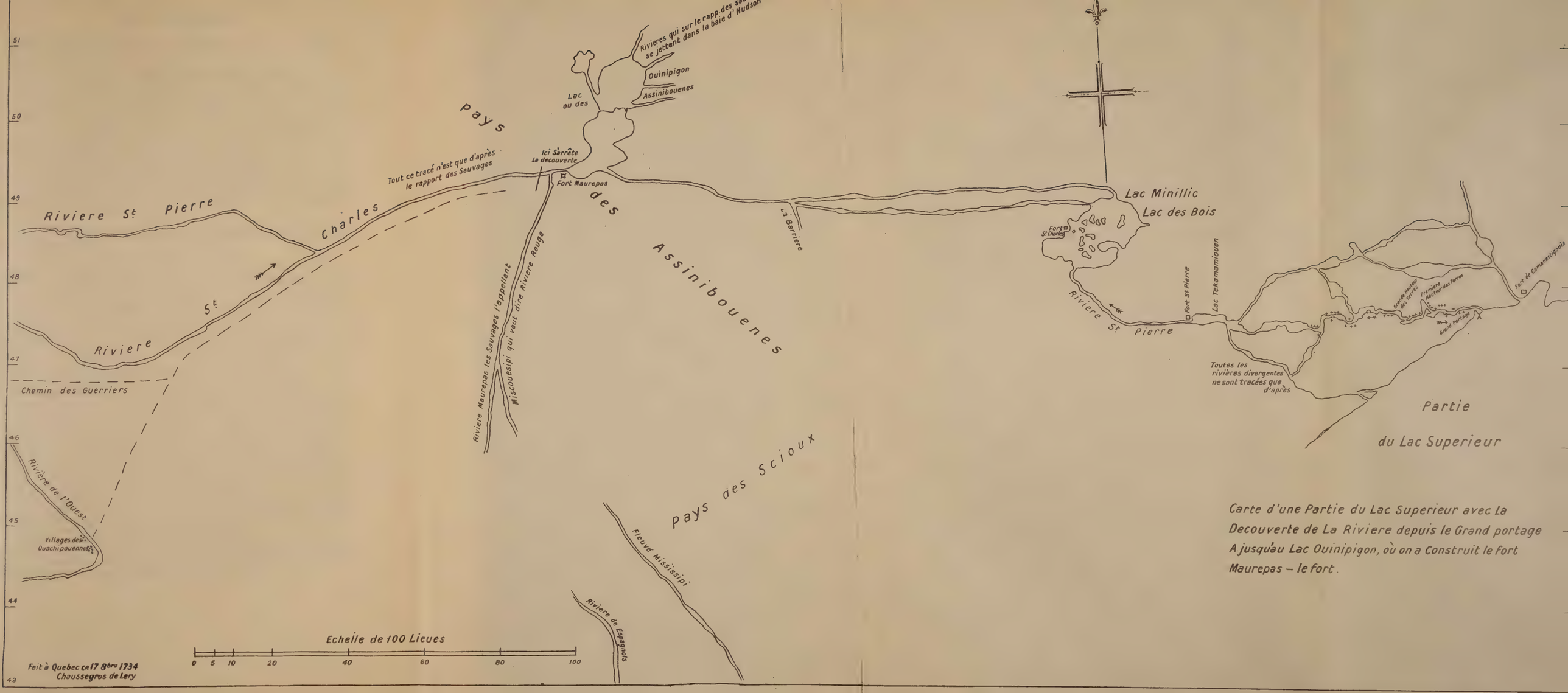
three quarters in the number of portages. They have assured me that the large canoes could pass.

My nephew in presenting the map to you will have the honour of obtaining your acknowledgement of it.

By diminishing the number of portages we shall diminish the wages of the men, which will render this post much more profitable after a while.

The savages being very numerous, there is reason to expect that we shall get a large quantity of furs now going to the English at Hudson Bay. Provided there are Frenchmen on the road they travel the savages will not go to the English, whom they do not like and even despise, saying that they are not men like the French and that they are afraid of them (the Indians), only allowing a few of their old men to enter their fort; the French they say are very different as they fear nothing and are kindly.

You will see also, Monsieur, by the map the road that must be followed in order to get to the Western Sea: my



Carte d'une Partie du Lac Superieur avec La Decouverte de La Riviere depuis le Grand portage A jusqu'au Lac Ouinipigon, où on a Construit le fort Maurepas – le fort.

rendra compte des hauteurs de chaque poste et les distances des uns aux autres.

Il n'est venu icy en guerre aucun Scioux depuis deux ans.

Dans le Conseil que j'ay tenu ce printems, j'ay dit aux Sauvages en leur donnant un collier de vostre part que c'estoit par vos ordres que je leur barrois le chemin des Scioux où sont les françois, j'ay envoyé aux Scioux un collier et un calumet de paix de la part de nos Sauvages avec du tabac noir pour les faire fumer et leur demander la paix, j'en ay ecrit à M. de Linctot affin qu'il les engage à écouter vostre parolle.

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nephew will tell you all about the altitudes of the different posts and their distances apart.

No Sioux has come here for any warlike purpose within the last two years.

In the Council which I held in the spring, I told the savages, in giving them a collar [1] in your name, that it was by your orders that I was barring the road to the Sioux among whom the French are; and I sent to the Sioux a collar and a pipe of peace on behalf of our savages with some black tobacco [2] to get them to smoke, asking them at the same time to make peace. I wrote on the subject to M. de Linctôt [3] so that he might urge them to listen to your word.

[1] The ceremonial collar, or belt, of beads—equivalent to the wampum of the Indians. See article on 'Wampum' in Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, and references therein to the extensive literature on the subject.

[2] Brazil tobacco, as distinguished from 'white' tobacco grown in Canada. Brazil tobacco (*Nicotiana tabacum*), being much stronger than the northern species (*Nicotiana rustica*), was esteemed by the Indians. They mixed it with bearberry, sumac, dogwood bark, and a variety of other leaves, roots, etc. The result was known as *kinnikinnick*. Hendry, of the Hudson's Bay Co., when he visited some of the French traders on the Saskatchewan in 1755, found that they had no Brazil tobacco. 'They have,' he says, 'white tobacco made up in Roles of 12 lb. wt. each.' Lahontan, writing toward the end of the seventeenth century, says that 'Brazil tobacco is worth 40 Sous a pound (in Canada) by way of Retail, and 35 by Wholesale.' The imported tobacco was subject to an impost of five sols a pound, equal to about nineteen cents.

[3] René Godefroy de Linctôt (1675–1748) was in charge of the Lake Pepin fort from 1731 to 1733, and was therefore stationed among the Sioux. He had been commandant at La Pointe from 1720 to 1726, and at Detroit the latter year, lieutenant 1724, captain 1733.

J'attends dans le cours de l'esté les Assiniboils et les gens du Lac Ouinipigon, ils ont reçeu les presents que je leur ay envoyé et m'ont fait repondre qu'ils me viendroient voir dans peu, je renvoye de nouveau les inviter et les remettre de la peur qu'on leur avoit fait de nous.

Extrait de la Lettre écrite à M[onsieur] le Marquis de Beauharnois par le S[ieur] Lavérendrye dattée du fort S[ain]t Charles au Lac des Bois le 25 May 1733.

Monsieur

J'ay l'honneur de vous envoyer deux colliers de la part des Cristinaux dont il y en a pour vous assurer qu'ils se soumettent entièrement sous vostre obéissance, qu'ils vous obéiront en tout, il vous prient de le garder comme un gage de leur soumission et de leur fidélité avec assurance que ce

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I am expecting the Assiniboin in the course of the summer and also the people from Lake Winnipeg. They received the presents that I sent them and sent word in reply that they would come to see me soon. I am sending again to invite them and get them over the fear that they were led to entertain of us.[1]

La Vérendrye to Beauharnois.

Fort St. Charles, May 25, 1733.

Monsieur,

I have the honour to send you two collars on behalf of the Cree, one of which is to assure you that they submit entirely to become obedient to you, and that they will obey you in all things ; they beg you to keep it as a pledge of their submission and fidelity, with assurance that this collar is

[1] Not signed.

collier est une barrière du chemin des Sioux où sont les françois, et qui répond à celuy que je leur ay donné à ce sujet, et que le chemin de Kamanistigoya sera toujours uny pour les françois et autres nos alliés quand ils viendront icy.

L'autre est pour vous représenter le fort où nous sommes et la joye qu'ils ont d'avoir les françois sur leurs terres et qu'ils ne font aujourd'huy qu'un mêsme corps avec nous, qu'ils espèrent dans peu que les Assiniboils leurs alliés en feront de mêsme, qu'ils vous prient de vouloir bien les admettre au nombre de vos enfants et de conserver toujours ce fort, affin qu'ils y puissent trouver leurs besoins en tout tems, et pour que leurs familles soient en sûreté.

Voilà, Monsieur, mot pour mot, les parolles que le grand Chef des Cristinaux à l'honneur de vous envoyer au nom de toute sa nation, il m'a dit qu'il resteroit auprès du fort tout l'esté avec les anciens, pour nous garder, qu'il alloit faire

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a barrier of the road to the Sioux where the Frenchmen are, and responds to the one which I gave them in connection with this matter, and that the Kaministikwia road will always be a smooth one for the French and others, our allies, whenever they shall come in this direction.

The other is to represent to you the fort where we are and the joy they feel at having the French upon their lands, and that now they make one and the same body with us; that they hope that their allies the Assiniboin will soon act in the same way; and that they beg you to admit them to the number of your children, and to maintain the fort in perpetuity in order that they may be able to obtain what they need there, and that their families may be in safety.

Such, Monsieur, word for word, is the message which the great chief of the Cree has the honour to send you in the name of his entire nation. He told me that he would remain near the fort all summer with the elders of the people to defend us, and that he was going to raise corn as we do.

du bled comme nous, je l'ay invité d'en faire le plus qu'il sera possible et j'ay fourny de la semence.

J'ose me flatter, Monsieur, que vous aurez la bonté de vouloir bien avoir égard aux frais que j'ay esté obligé de faire jusqu'à présent pour l'établissement de ces Postes où l'on a lieu d'espérer bien de la pelletrie par la suitte.

M[onsieu]r le M[arqu]is de Beauharnois 28 7^{bre}. 1733.

Le S[ieu]r de la Véranderie qui a entrepris cette découverte, a fait un établissement sur le Lac de Tekamamiouen. Il y a bâty un fort qui a deux portes opposées : le costé intérieur a 50. pieds avec deux bastions. Il y a deux corps de bâtimens composés de 2. chambres à doubles cheminées : ces Bâtimens sont entourés d'un chemin de ronde de 7. pieds de large. L'on a pratiqué dans un des bastions un magazin et une

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I urged him to raise as much as possible, and furnished him with seed.

I venture to hope, Monsieur, that you will kindly be good enough to take into consideration the expense to which I have been put up to the present time for the establishment of these posts, where in course of time we may expect to get a large quantity of furs.[1]

Report of Beauharnois.

September 28, 1733.

The Sieur de la Vérendrye who has undertaken this discovery has made an establishment on Lake Tecamamiouen where he has built a fort with two gates on opposite sides. The interior length of the side is fifty feet with two bastions. There are two main buildings each composed of two rooms with double chimneys. Around these buildings is a road seven feet wide ; in one of the bastions a storehouse and a

[1] Not signed.

poudriere. Et les pieux sont doublés et ont treize pieds hors de terre.

Il a construit un autre fort à L'ouest du Lac des Bois éloigné de 60. lieues du Lac de Tekamamiouen. Le costé intérieur de ce fort a 100. pieds avec 4. bastions. Il y a une maison pour le Missionnaire, une Eglise, une autre maison pour le Commandant, 4. corps de bâtiment à cheminées, une poudrière et un magazin. Il y a aussy deux portes opposées, et une guéritte ; et les pieux sont doublés et ont 15. pieds hors de terre.

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powder magazine have been made, and there is a double row of stakes, thirteen feet out of the ground.

He has constructed another fort to the west of the Lake of the Woods, distant sixty leagues from Lake Tecamamiouen. The interior of this fort measures one hundred feet with four bastions. There is a house for the missionary, a church, and another house for the commandant, four main buildings with chimneys, a powder magazine and a store house. There are also two gates on opposite sides, and a watch-tower, and the stakes are in double row and are fifteen feet out of the ground.[1]

[1] This description of fort St. Charles may be compared with that of Father Aulneau, contained in one of his letters, published in the *Aulneau Collection*. It consisted, he says, of an enclosure made with four rows of posts from twelve to fifteen feet in height in the form of an oblong square, within which were several rough cabins constructed of logs and clay and covered with bark. Father Aulneau was stationed at fort St. Charles in 1735–36, and therefore spoke from personal knowledge. The fort was probably named in honour of the governor, Charles de Beauharnois, and of Father Mesaiger, who bore the same Christian name. As the result of investigations on the part of the Jesuits of St. Boniface College, St. Boniface, Manitoba, begun in 1902, and brought to a successful conclusion in 1908, the ruins of fort St. Charles were discovered. Excavations revealed the foundations of the chimneys, and the lines of the stockade. The fort stood on the south shore of the North-west Angle, a little west of Famine (Gucketé) Island. Besides its distinction as a pivotal point in the international boundary, this insignificant bay is now proved to have had the honour of sheltering the discoverer of the North-west. An account of the St. Boniface expedition will be found in Prud'homme's article (*R.S.C. Trans.* 1905), in the *Bulletin of the Société Historique de Saint-Boniface*, v. 1916, and in Campbell's *Pioneer Priests of North America*, iii. 261 *et seq.*

Ce dernier établissement est sur les terres des Christinaux et à portée des Assiniboels. La pêsche et la chasse y sont abondantes. Il y a beaucoup de folles avoines ; et comme les terres y sont bonnes, le S[ieur] de la Véranderie y a fait semer le feu pour les nettoyer. La folle avoine qui y est abondance, luy a donné occasion de conserver le bled qu'il avoit aporté ; et il ne sera plus obligé d'en faire venir dans la suitte de Missilimakinak.

D'ailleurs ce poste procurera cet avantage, que les françois pourront profiter d'un quantité considérable de pelleteries qu'on porte aux Anglois de la Baye d'Hudson ; car tant que les sauvages trouveront des françois sur leur passage, ils n'iront point chercher les Anglois qu'ils ne paraissent aimer ny estimer.

Tous les sauvages de ces cantons aiment fort la guerre. En 1732 il les avoit empêchéz d'y aller ; mais en 1733 il a esté obligé de leur permettre de marcher, à condition pourtant

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The last-mentioned establishment is on the lands of the Cree and within reach of the Assiniboin ; fish and game are abundant, wild oats grow in great quantity, and as the land there is good the Sieur de la Vérendrye had it burnt over to clear it. The wild oats which are abundant enabled him to save the wheat he had brought, and he will not be obliged in future to bring any from Michilimackinac.

Moreover this fort will procure this advantage, that the French will be able to profit by a considerable quantity of peltries that are now taken to the English on Hudson Bay, for if the savages find the French on their passage they will not go in search of the English, whom they apparently neither like nor esteem.

All the savages of these districts are much given to war. In 1732 he [the Sieur de la Vérendrye] had prevented them from going to war, but in 1733 he had been obliged to let

qu'ils n'iront point chez les Scioux des Rivières, ce qu'ils luy ont promis.

Il avait fait partir sur la fin de l'hiver dernier son fils avec le S[ieur] De la Jemeraye son neveu pour aller construire un fort à Ouinipigon. Ils ont aproché, au raport que leur ont fait les sauvages, le Lac de ce nom de 15. à 20. lieues, mais ils n'ont pu y arriver à cause des glaces. Le S[ieur] de la Véranderie le fils est resté dans cet endroit pour continuer sa route, aussitôt que le temps le pourroit permettre ; et le S[ieur] De la Jemeraye a pris la route de Montréal, où il est arrivé le 20. 7^{bre}.

Il a remis à M[onsieu]r de Beauharnois deux colliers que les Christinaux luy ont envoyé, l'un comme un gage de leur soumission, de leur fidélité et de leur attention à donner passage aux françois et à leurs alliés, et l'autre comme une marque de la joye qu'ils ont d'avoir les françois sur leurs

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them march, on condition, however, that they should not go against the Sioux of the Rivers, of which they gave him their promise.

Towards the end of last winter he had sent his son with the Sieur de la Jemeraye, his nephew, to construct a fort at Winnipeg. They reached a point about fifteen or twenty leagues from the lake of that name, according to what the savages told them, but could not get there on account of the ice. The younger Sieur de la Vérendrye remained in that place so as to proceed on his way as soon as the weather should permit, and the Sieur de la Jemeraye started for Montreal, where he arrived on the twentieth of September.

He handed to Monsieur de Beauharnois two collars which the Cree had sent him, the one as a pledge of their submission and fidelity and of the care they were taking to keep the road open for the French and their allies ; the other in sign of their joy in having Frenchmen upon their lands

terres et de ne faire qu'un même corps avec eux. Il luy a raporté que le chef des Christinaux devoit rester avec les anciens de sa nation auprès du fort françois pendant tout l'été, qu'il devoit même y faire du bled, dont le S[ieur] de la Véranderie luy avoit fourni la semence. A l'égard des Assiniboels, il n'en est point venu au fort du Lac des Bois, parce qu'on leur avoit fait craindre que les françois vouloient les manger, et qu'à cet effet ils devoient estre suivis des Scioux et des Saulteurs ; mais leur crainte est dissipée ; et le chef des Christinaux a prié le S[ieur] Delavérenderie de mettre ces sauvages qui sont alliés de sa nation, au nombre de ses enfans, et a assuré que dans peu ils viendroient le joindre.

Le S[ieur] De la Jemeraye doit repartir à la fonte des glaces pour se rendre au Lac des Bois, où il compte arriver

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and in forming only one body with them. He reported to him that the chief of the Cree intended to remain with the elders of his people near the French fort all the summer, and that he was even going to raise wheat, seed of which had been supplied to him by the Sieur de la Vérendrye.

As regards the Assiniboin, none of them came to the fort of the Lake of the Woods, because they had been scared by being told that the French wanted to eat them, and that for that purpose they were to be followed by Sioux and Saulteur [1] ; but their fear has now been dispelled, and the chief of the Cree begged the Sieur de la Vérendrye to count these savages, who are allies of his nation, among his children, and assured him that they would shortly come and join him.

The Sieur de la Jemeraye is to start again, as soon as the ice melts, for the Lake of the Woods, where he expects to

[1] Chippewa, or Ojibway, a large tribe of Algonquian stock, who lived about the Sault when first met with by the French, hence the name by which they were popularly known. The Jesuit Relation of 1640 refers to them under the name of Baouichtigouin (Bawatigowininiwug), ' people of the Sault.' See Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*.

au mois d'Aoust. Il doit en partir au mois de Septembre pour aller hiverner à 150. lieues plus loin ; et de cet hivernement il partira au printemps de l'année prochaine pour se rendre chez les Ouachipouennes autrement apellés les Scioux qui vont sous terre. Cette nation est sur la rivière de l'Ouest à 300. lieues ou environ du Lac des Bois, suivant le raport des Christinaux qui y ont esté en guerre. Ils disent aussy que les Ouachipouennes y ont 8. villages établis, des champs de bled d'Inde, des melons, des citrouilles, des aricots, des chevaux, des chats et des cabannes de bois et de terre, bâties comme les maisons françoises ; qu'ils sont de la taille des autres sauvages ; que les uns ont les cheveux blonds, les autres rouges, et les autres noirs ; qu'ils parlent un langage qui aproche de celuy des françois et qui n'a aucun raport avec l'anglois ; qu'ils sont habillés de peaux de bœuf ; qu'ils

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arrive in the month of August ; and in September he will leave that place to go and winter one hundred and fifty leagues further. After that wintering he will leave in the spring of the following year in order to go to the country of the Ouachipouennes, otherwise called 'the Sioux who go Underground.'[1]

This nation is on the River of the West[2] three hundred leagues or thereabouts from the Lake of the Woods according to the report of the Cree who have been there in war. They say that the Ouachipouennes have eight villages established there, fields of Indian corn, melons, pumpkins, beans, horses, cats and dwellings constructed of wood and earth and built like French houses, that they are of the same height as other savages, that some of them have light hair, some red and some black, that they speak a language which has some resemblance to French but is quite unlike English, that they

[1] The Mandan.

[2] The Missouri river. La Jemeraye's map (opposite p. 116) shows the Missouri, with the following description : ' Riviere de l'Ouest ou R. des Mantanes qu'on croit etre le Missouris ' ; and a little above the great bend of the Missouri he shows ' Village des Ouachipouanes.'

se servent de marmites de terre, et qu'ils ont quelques grosses haches toutes usées ; qu'ils ne font jamais la guerre à aucune nation, mais qu'ils sont toujours sur leurs gardes et se deffendent bien lorsqu'ils sont attaquez.

Les Christinaux et Assiniboels leur ont continuellement fait la guerre et leur ont pris plusieurs enfans : le S[ieur] De la Jemeraye en a acheté trois qu'il a amenés à Montréal : il dit qu'il a vü ces enfans jouer ensemble, que dans leurs divertissemens ils hennissent comme des chevaux, et que lorsqu'ils ont vû des chats et des chevaux, ils luy ont dit qu'ils en avoient de même chez eux.

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are dressed in ox-hide, that they use earthen pots and have some large axes all worn away by use, that they never make war on any tribe, but that they are always on their guard and defend themselves bravely when attacked.

The Cree and the Assiniboin have constantly made war upon them and have captured several children from them. The Sieur de la Jemeraye bought three of them which he took to Montreal. He says that he has seen these children playing together, that in their games they neigh like horses, and that when they saw cats and horses they said they had animals of the same kind at home.[1]

[1] This is merely an example of Indian complacency. The domestic cat was of course unknown to the western tribes at this period ; nor does it appear that any of the tribes north of the Missouri had yet acquired horses. When La Vérendrye visited the Assiniboin and the Mandan in 1738–39, neither of these tribes had horses, although the latter told him of tribes more to the south who travelled on horseback. In 1741, however, the explorer's son brought two horses from the Missouri to Fort La Reine on the Assiniboine—probably obtained from some of the southern tribes who visited the Mandans. The Assiniboin had acquired horses before 1776, when Alexander Henry visited them, but apparently still moved camp with dogs, and hunted on foot. The Sioux also hunted on foot, in 1766, when Jonathan Carver visited their country. He mentions some western tribes who at that time had ' great plenty of horses, always attacking their enemies on horseback.' Anthony Hendry found horses among both the western Assiniboin and the Blackfeet, in 1754. See his *Journal* (*R.S.C. Trans.* 1907). See also the article on ' Horses ' in Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians.*

Les Christinaux et Assiniboels ont fait la paix avec cette nation. Les premiers ont promis au S[ieu]rs De la Jemeraye et De la Véranderie fils de les conduire chez elle : d'où ils pourront prendre des connoissances pour descendre à la Mer de l'Ouest, ou cette grande rivière selon les apparences va se décharger.

Le S[ieur] de la Jemeraye ajoute que les vents qui règnent au Lac des Bois sont des vents d'ouest et très pluvieux ; ce qui luy fait conjecturer qu'ils viennent de la mer ; et il assure qu'il a parlé à 20. sauvages Christinaux chacun en particulier et en différens temps pour voir s'ils s'accorderoient entr'eux, qu'ils luy ont tous dit la même chose, et que s'ils se sont contrariez, ce n'a esté que sur la différence de quelques animaux qu'ils avoient vûs pendant le voyage.

M[essieu]rs de Beauharnois et Hocquart marquent que le S[ieur] De la Jemeraye leur a représenté que le S[ieur] De la Véranderie et ses associéz sont hors d'éstat de continuer

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The Cree and the Assiniboin have made peace with that tribe, and the former have promised the Sieur de la Jemeraye and the son of La Vérendrye to conduct them thither, where they can get information as to how to get down to the Western Sea in which to all appearance that great river discharges.

The Sieur de la Jemeraye adds that the prevailing winds at the Lake of the Woods are westerly and very rainy, which leads him to conjecture that they come from the sea, and he declares that he has spoken to twenty Cree savages separately in private and at different times to see if their stories would agree, and that they have always told him the same thing ; if their accounts have not agreed it has been in the matter of differences in certain animals they have seen in their travels.

Messieurs de Beauharnois and Hocquart call attention to the fact that the Sieur de la Jemeraye has represented to them that the Sieur de la Vérendrye and his associates

cette entreprise à laquelle ils ont déjà dépensé 43m. si le Roy n'en fait la dépense. Ils observent que suivant le calcul qu'ils en ont fait avec luy, les fraix des engagéz pendant 3. ans et ce qu'on leur pourroit fournir des magazins du Roy, ne monteroient tout au plus qu'à 30m. ; et ils proposent de faire cette dépense.

Cy joint la carte que le S[ieu]r De la Jemeraye a remis à M[onsieur le Marquis] de Beauharnois.

Lettre de Monsieur le Marquis de Beauharnois à Québec le 8 *Octobre* 1734.

Monseigneur

J'ay reçu la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 20. avril der. au sujet de la découverte du S[ieur]

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are unable to continue this enterprise, on which they have already expended forty-three thousand livres, unless the King provides the means.

They observe that according to the reckoning they made with him the wages of the hired men for three years and what might be furnished from the King's stores would not amount at the most to more than thirty thousand livres, and they propose to spend that sum.

Hereto annexed is the map [1] which the Sieur de la Jemeraye handed to Monsieur the Marquis de Beauharnois.[2]

Beauharnois to Maurepas.

Quebec, October 8, 1734.

Monseigneur,

I have received the letter which you did me the honour to write me on the twentieth of April last, on the subject of

[1] Reproduced opposite p. 116. [2] Not signed.

de la Vérandrye, vous trouverez cy joint un mémoire que cet officier m'a remis qui vous instruira de toutes ses démarches pour parvenir à cette découverte.

Il n'y a aucune apparence que l'affaire de la Baye apporte aucun obstacle à cette entreprise, quoique j'aye lieu de penser par ce que j'ay eu l'honneur de vous mander du repentir des Sakis, que cette affaire n'aura aucune suitte fâcheuse, le S[ieur] de la Vérendrye n'est point dans le cas d'etre inquietté dans ses établissemens qui sont dans des pais où les Sakis n'ont jamais pénétré, et où ils n'oseroient d'ailleurs faire de tentatives par l'appréhension qu'ils auroient des nations

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the exploration of the Sieur de la Vérendrye. Herewith you will find a memoir that officer has sent me, which will inform you as to all the steps taken to arrive at the discovery in view.

There is no likelihood that the affair of the Bay[1] will throw any obstacle in the way of this enterprise. Though I have reason to think by what I had the honour to state to you concerning the repentance of the Sakis[2] that this affair will not have any unhappy result, the Sieur de la Vérendrye is not [in any case] in danger of being disturbed in his establishments which are in countries into which the Sakis have never penetrated, and against which moreover they would not venture to make any hostile attempts owing to their dread of the tribes which the Sieur de la Vérendrye has made

[1] The post of La Baye (Green Bay). On September 16, 1733, Villiers, commandant at La Baye, his son, Repentigny, Duplessis, and several other French were killed by the Sauk, in a dispute as to disposition of a number of Fox prisoners. The official account is contained in a letter of Beauharnois and Hocquart to Maurepas, dated November 11, 1733. See *Wis. Hist. Coll.* xvii. 188–91, 200–204.

[2] Sauk (*Osakiwug*, ' people of the outlet '), an Algonquian tribe. They occupied the country about Green Bay in 1733, and had been at war with the Foxes. The incident referred to in the preceding note led to an alliance between the Sauk and Foxes, and the migration of the united tribes to the land of the Iowa, west of the Mississippi. See Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*.

que le S[ieur] de la Vérendrye s'est affidé qui prendroient incontestablement sa deffense et qui sont en grand nombre.

J'ai fait part à cet officier que Sa Majesté n'etoit point dans les dispositions d'entrer dans aucunes dépenses pour sa découverte, il m'a représente de nouveau et j'ai connoissance que les frais qu'il a fait conjointement avec ses associés pour pousser ses établissemens, excédoient de beaucoup les proffits qu'ils en ont retiré, que ces mêmes associés ne vouloient plus entrer dans les dépenses qui sont nécessaires pour suivre son projet, mais que les apparences de réussir ne luy paroissants point douteuses, il avoit passé sur cet obstacle qui étoit à la vérité l'essentiel, s'il n'eût trouvé à s'équiper chez des négociants qui luy ont fait les avances de ce qu'il avoit besoin, quoiqu'il fût desjà endetté de son premier équipement.

Le zèle que le S[ieur] de la Vérendrye marque pour cette entreprise, ne m'a parû avoir pour objet que de parvenir aux

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friends with, who would certainly fight in his defence, and who are in great number.

I have informed that officer that His Majesty was not disposed to incur any expense in aid of his discovery. He has represented to me again, and I have knowledge that it is true, that the amount which he and his associates have spent in order to push forward their establishments is much more than any profit they have derived from them. He added that these same associates were not disposed to assume the further expenses that were necessary for following out his project, but that since the prospect of final success appeared to him in no way doubtful he had overcome the one really essential obstacle by obtaining supplies from merchants [1] who had let him have what he required though he was still in debt to them for his first outfit.

The zeal which the Sieur de la Vérendrye manifests for this enterprise has seemed to me to proceed alone from a

[1] In Montreal.

fins de découvrir la Mer d'Ouest et rendre ses établissemens utils à la colonie, il est constant que ceux qu'il a fait chez les nations avec lesquelles les anglois étoient en commerce, serviront utilement tant à les en détourner qu'à augmenter le commerce du castor et des pelletries qui se fait en cette colonie, les frais considérables et les dettes qu'il est obligé de contracter pour y parvenir auroient pû rebutter cet officier, s'il ne s'étoit flatté des égards que Sa Majesté voudra bien avoir dans cette occasion, ou il se livre seul aujourd'huy, n'ayant trouvé aucun associé qui comme luy ait préféré la gloire de réussir aux intérêts qui en peuvent résulter, et qu'ils sentent bien n'estre pas capables de tenir lieu des dépenses dont on est tenû pour former de nouveaux établissemens et surtout de la nature des siens. Vous verrez, Monseigneur,

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desire to accomplish the discovery of the Western Sea and render his establishments useful to the colony. It is a matter of established fact that those which he has made in the countries of the tribes with which the English were carrying on trade will be of use both in diverting their commerce from English channels and in increasing the trade in beaver and peltries generally which is carried on in this colony.

The heavy expenses which he has to incur and the debts he is obliged to contract might have discouraged this officer if he had not flattered himself that His Majesty would take a kind interest in the circumstances of the case, when he is facing all difficulties alone, having failed to find any associate who, like himself, preferred the glory of success to the pecuniary advantages which might result from it, other parties feeling strongly that glory cannot pay the expenses involved in the formation of new establishments, particularly of the nature of his.

You will see, Monseigneur, by the memoir which this

par le mémoire que cet officier m'a remis et que j'ay l'honneur de vous envoyer, que le der[nier] établissement qu'il a fait est au Lac Ouinipigon à 150. lieues des Ouatchipouennes, il compte partir le printems prochain pour s'y rendre et prendre ses mesures pour aller le printems suivant chez ces derniers, qui ont marqué ainsy que les Assiniboils l'en ont assuré beaucoup de satisfaction de l'alliance qu'ils espéroient faire avec les françois, le S[ieur] de la Vérendrye doit mener avec luy le S[ieu]r de la Jemeraye et un de ses enfants qui a beaucoup de facilité à apprendre les langues des sauvages et à qui il compte faire apprendre celle des Ouatchipouennes afin de luy servir d'interprête auprès de cette nation pour en tirer les connoissances dont il aura besoin pour suivre les idées qu'il a de faire cette découverte.

J'ay conféré avec le S[ieur] de La Vérendrye sur la route

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officer has transmitted to me and which I have the honour to forward to you, that the last establishment which he has made is at Lake Winnipeg, a hundred and fifty leagues distant from the Ouachipouennes. He expects to start for that place next spring, and to arrange for going in the following spring to the latter people who, as the Assiniboin have assured him, have testified a great deal of satisfaction in connection with their expectation of making an alliance with the French.

The Sieur de la Vérendrye is to take with him Sieur de la Jemeraye and one of his children who has great facility in learning the languages of the savages, and whom he expects he will get to learn that of the Ouachipouennes, so as to be able to act as an interpreter with that people, for the purpose of drawing from them the information he will require in order to carry out his ideas regarding this discovery.

I have conferred with the Sieur de la Vérendrye respect-

qu'il avoit déterminé de prendre pour diminuer les portages qu'il y a à faire du Lac Supérieur au Lac Tecamamiouen, après l'examen que cet officier a fait du chemin qui luy paroissoit le plus propre et le plus court, il a remarque que le chemin que le S[ieur] de la Jemeraye avoit trouvé et où il n'y avoit que neuf portages, n'est pas convenable en ce qu'il augmente la route que l'on a à faire de 120. lieues et que d'ailleurs les eaües y sont très souvent si basses que des canots de huit places n'y pouroient naviguer, cette difficulté luy a fait prendre la route qu'il avoit desjà choisi qui étoit de 41. portages, mais qui n'est par les mesures qu'il a prises que de 32. ; il adjoute qu'il a fait travailler ses engagés aux chemins de ses portages et qu'il les a rendu si beaux et si faciles qu'on en peut faire aisément sept par jour, de façon que les engagés à qui l'on étoit obligé de donner jusqu'à 500. par les peines

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ing the route which he had decided to take in order to reduce the number of portages to be made between Lake Superior and Lake Tecamamiouen. After the investigation made by that officer in order to determine the most suitable and shortest route, he remarked that the route which the Sieur de la Jemeraye had found on which there were only nine portages is not suitable because it increases the distance by one hundred and twenty leagues, while the rivers are often so low that canoes for eight men cannot navigate them. This difficulty caused him to take the route he had already chosen on which there were forty-one portages, which however by the measures he took were reduced to thirty-two.

He adds that he has made his hired men work at the trails of his portages and has thus made them so fine and so easy that there is no difficulty in making seven a day, so that the hired men to whom he was obliged to give as high as five hundred livres for the labour they had with his portages,

qu'ils avoient dans ses portages, s'engagent pour 250. ou 300. au plus.

Après avoir eû l'honneur de vous rendre compte, Monseigneur, des mesures que le S[ieur] de la Vérendrye a pris pour parvenir à sa découverte, permettez que je vous suplie d'engager Sa Majesté à entrer dans quelques considérations à l'égard de cet officier, j'ose vous assurer que le zèle qu'il fait paroitre pour cette entreprise ne peut être soupçonné d'aucun autre motif que celuy du bien du service et de la colonie, et qu'il luy est, quant à présent très dispendieux.

Je suis avec un très profond respect, Monseigneur,
Votre très humble et très obeissant serviteur,
BEAUHARNOIS.

A Quebec ce 8[me].
Octobre 1734.

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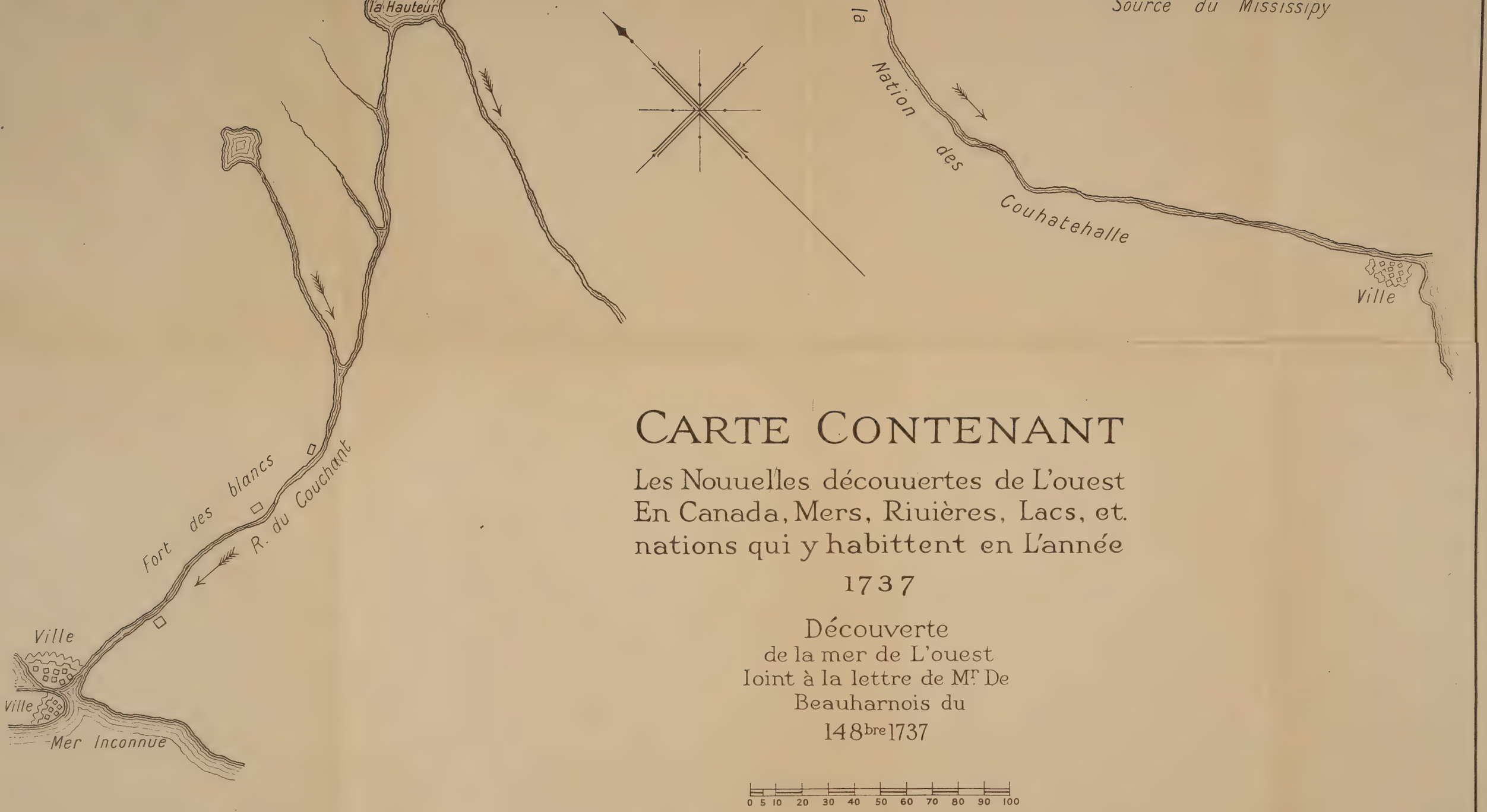
now hire for two hundred and fifty or three hundred livres at most.

After having had the honour, Monseigneur, of giving you an account of the measures which the Sieur de la Vérendrye has taken to achieve his discovery, permit me to beg of you to urge upon His Majesty to bestow some consideration upon that officer. I venture to assure you that the zeal which he manifests for this enterprise cannot be suspected of any other motive than the well-being of the service and of the colony, and that, up to the present, it has been a very costly thing for him.

I am, with most profound respect, Monseigneur,
Your very humble and very obedient servant,
BEAUHARNOIS.

Mer du nord ou baye d'Hudson
Fort Anglois
Grande R. des Anglois
R. du Brochet
Lac Ouinipigon
R. Ouinipegue
Lac
Lac Tèka Mamiouon
Kamanistigoya
Te Kar
Fort Mamiouon
Grand Portage
St Pierre
La Carriere
Fort St Charles
Ile du Massacre
Fort Abandonné
Lac des Bois
Pays des Cristinaux
Lac des Prairies
Fort Maurepas
La Fourche
Portage de la Savane
Lac aux Roseaux
R. Blanche
Prairies
Mine
R. Rouge
Prairies
Lac des Glaizes
Pays des Assinipoualack
Mines
Pointe du bois fort
Lac Rouge
Mine
Grand Bois
Pays de La Nation des Hiattchiritiny
Grande R.
Terres



CARTE CONTENANT

Les Nouuelles découuertes de L'ouest
En Canada, Mers, Riuières, Lacs, et.
nations qui y habittent en L'année

1737

Découverte
de la mer de L'ouest
Ioint à la lettre de Mr De
Beauharnois du
148bre 1737

0 5 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

Sur la découverte de la Mer de l'Ouest.

[N.B.—Ce sommaire est écrit en exergue de la même écriture que le reste.]

M[onsieur] le M[arqu]is de Beauharnois envoye un mémoire qui luy a eté remis par le S[ieu]r de la Vérenderie qui a entrepris cette découverte, et qui est descendu à Montréal.

Le S[ieu]r De la Verenderye rend compte dans ce mémoire de tout ce qui s'est passé au fort S[ain]t Charles qui est à l'ouest du Lac des Bois, depuis le mois de May 1733 jusqu'au mois de Juillet 1734. Il observe d'abord que les Sioux et Sauteurs font depuis un temps immémorial la guerre aux Monsonis, aux Cristinaux ou Cris et aux Assinipoils, ce qui détruit peu à peu ces nations, les empêche de chasser, et fait grand tort au commerce de Canada. Il entre dans le détail de plusieurs visites que les Monsonis, Cris et Assinipoils lui

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Beauharnois to Maurepas.[1]

On the discovery of the Western Sea.

Monsieur the Marquis de Beauharnois sends a memoir received from the Sieur de la Vérendrye, who has undertaken this discovery and has come down to Montreal.

The Sieur de la Vérendrye gives an account in this memoir of all that took place at fort St. Charles on the west of the Lake of the Woods from the month of May 1733 to the month of July 1734.

He observes in the first place that the Sioux and the Saulteurs have from time immemorial waged war against the Monsoni, the Cristinaux or Cree, and the Assiniboin, which is gradually destroying these tribes, prevents them from hunting and does great harm to the trade of Canada. He enters into detail respecting a number of visits which

[1] Without place or date.

ont fait au Lac des Bois, des discours qu'il leur a tenu est des présens qu'il leur a faits pour les engager à demeurer en paix avec les Scioux et les Saulteurs, pour les attacher aux françois, et pour établir le commerce avec eux. Il marque que dans une de ces visites ces sauvages lui ont dit qu'ils connoissoient plusieurs mines de fer de différentes couleurs, qu'il y en avoit une à cinq journées du fort S[ain]t Charles dont le fer étoit pur, et dificile à casser, noir en dessus, et blanc en dedans, une autre plus loin dont les morceaux sont fort gros, et dont ils font eux mêmes des brasselets, et une autre près d'une grande rivière au couchant dont la terre est jaune, dure et à des grains et des feuilles qui luisent comme le soleil, et que dans le milieu de ce fer jaune il passe un ruisseau qui laisse un sable de la même couleur dans le fonds.

Qu'il n'y a point d'herbes au tour de toutes ces mines ;

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the Monsoni, Cree and Assiniboin paid him at the Lake of the Woods, the speeches he made them and the presents he gave them to induce them to remain at peace with the Sioux and the Saulteurs and in order to attach them to the French and establish commerce with them.

He states that in one of these visits these savages told him that they knew of several iron mines of different colours, that there was one five days' journey from fort St. Charles, the iron of which was pure and difficult to break, black on the surface and white inside, another further away, the iron of which was in large lumps and was used by them for making bracelets, and another near to a great river in the west, the earth of which is yellow and hard and has particles and scales that shine like the sun, and that through the middle of this yellow iron deposit there runs a stream which leaves a sand of the same colour at the bottom.

They state that there is no grass growing round any of

qu'il y a encore d'autres endroits dans les prairies couverts comme de bales de fer noires par dessus et couleur de métal de cloche en dedans, rondes, et de différentes grosseurs ; et que dans les mêmes endroits il y a des pierres fort pesantes, dont ils se servent pour allumer du feu. Il ajoute qu'il leur demanda de luy aporter de toutes ces mines ; mais qu'ils luy répondirent qu'ils ne pourroient venir que cet hyver, parce qu'ils partoient dès le printemps chez les Achipoüanes afin de traiter des bleds avec eux.

La nation des Achipoüanes est sur la Rivière de l'Ouest à 300. lieues ou environ du Lac des Bois. Sur les questions qu'il a faites par raport à cette nation aux Cris et Assinipoils, ils luy ont répondu qu'ils prenoient les Achipoüanes pour des françois, qu'ils parlent et chantent comme nous ; que leurs forts et leurs maisons étoient à peu près comme les nôtres, excepté la couverture qui est platte avec de la terre et de la pierre par dessus ; que leurs maisons ont des caves

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these mines, that there are other places in the prairies covered with pieces of iron like balls, black on the outside and the colour of clock-metal inside, round, and of different sizes, and that in the same localities there are very heavy stones which they use for lighting fires. The writer adds that he asked them to bring him specimens from all these mines, but that they answered that they could not come before winter as they were leaving in the spring to go to the Ouachipouennes in order to buy corn from them.

The tribe of the Ouachipouennes is settled on the western river three hundred leagues or so from the Lake of the Woods.

To the questions which he put to the Cree and the Assiniboin respecting them they answered that they took the Ouachipouennes for Frenchmen ; they talk and sing like us, their forts and their houses are very much like ours, except that the roofs are flat and covered with earth and stones, and

où ils conservent les bleds d'Inde dans de grands paniers d'ozier ; qu'ils n'abandonnent jamais leur fort ; qu'ils travaillent tous à la terre, même les femmes, à l'exception des chefs qui se font servir ; qu'ils sont de la plus haute taille, blancs, cheveux blonds, châtains et rouges, et quelques uns cheveux noirs ; qu'ils ont de la barbe qu'ils coupent ou qu'ils arrachent, excepté quelques uns qui laissent croître ; qu'ils marchent les pieds en dehors ; qu'ils sont caressans et affables aux Etrangers qui les vont voir, se tenant cependant toujours sur leurs gardes ; qu'ils ne vont point chéz les nations voisines ; qu'ils sont habillés de cuir ou de peaux passées, bien travaillées et de différentes couleurs ; qu'ils ont une espèce de camisolle, des culotes et bas de la même matière et qu'il semble que le soulier tient avec les bas ; que les femmes sont en habits longs qui va jusqu'à la cheville du pied, avec une ceinture qui porte un tablier, le tout de

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their houses have cellars in which they store their Indian corn in great wicker baskets ; they never abandon their fort and they all till the soil, even the women, with the exception of the chiefs, who are served by the rest.

They are very tall of stature, white in colour, with hair light, chestnut and red, and in a few cases black ; they have beards which they either cut or pull out, though a few allow it to grow ; they walk with their feet turned out ; they are kindly and affable to strangers who go to visit them, but nevertheless are always on their guard ; they do not visit the neighbouring tribes ; they are dressed in leather or in dressed skins, well worked and of different colours ; they wear a kind of shirt or jacket, breeches and stockings of the same material, and it seems as if shoe and stocking were one piece ; the women have long dresses which go down to their ankles with a girdle to which an apron is attached, the whole of skin

peau bien travaillée ; qu'elles sont coeffées en cheveux tressés et roulés sur la tête ; que cette nation est très laborieuse ; qu'elle sème quantité de bled, fèves, pois, avoine et autres grains qu'elle comerce avec les sauvages voisins qui vont les chercher chez elle ; qu'elle élève plusieurs animaux domestiques, comme chevaux et chèvres, des volailles consistans en poules d'Indes, poules communes, canards, oyes et autres que les sauvages ne connoissent pas ; qu'elle vit communément comme nos voyageurs, de bled d'Inde ; qu'elle mange quantité de viandes comme du bœuf, orignal, cerf, etc, qu'elle prend dans des fosses couvertes de feuilles et de bascules ; qu'elle fait la chasse ordinairement à cheval ; que les femmes n'y travaillent pas comme nos sauvagesses, qu'elles sont chargées du ménage qu'elles tiennent propre et qu'aux ouvrages pressans elles aident et travaillent aux champs. On luy a ajouté que les plus petits forts que cette nation construit sont ordinairement quarrés, et ont 5. ou 6. arpens

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well prepared ; they wear their hair in braids coiled round the head.

The people in question are very industrious, sowing quantities of corn, beans, peas, oats, and other grains, which they sell to the neighbouring tribes, who go and get them ; they raise a number of domestic animals like horses and goats, also poultry, including turkeys, common fowl, ducks, geese and others with which our savages are not acquainted ; their usual diet, like that of our voyageurs, is Indian corn, but they also eat a good deal of meat such as beef, moose, deer, etc., which they catch in pits covered with leaves and twigs ; ordinarily they hunt on horseback ; the women do not work like the squaws hereabouts, but look after the housework and keep everything clean ; when work is pressing, however, they take a hand in the fields.

He was told further that the smallest forts which these people construct are generally square and measure five or

de chaque face, qu'ils sont entourés d'un bon fossé, qu'ils ont double porte, qu'il y a une grande place au milieu sur laquelle toutes les maisons ont vüe, et que comme leurs forts sont les bords d'une rivière, il y a un souterrain qui va du milieu de la place au bord de l'eau, en sorte qu'on y peut aller et s'embarquer sans être vû ; que ses armes offensives et deffensives sont l'arc, la flèche et le bouclier, la hache et le dard qui est une espèce de lance, que ces armes sont d'un métal jaune plus dur que de la chaudière ; qu'ils se servent pour chaudières de pots de grais ou de terre ouvragés en dehors avec une espèce de vernis en dedans, et que leur vaisselle est de même ; Que la maison du chef est très grande et plus haute que les autres ; qu'elle occupe la face entière qui est vis à vis la porte, son logement et de ses esclaves est à un bout, le milieu est pour assembler le public et po[u]r recevoir les Etrangers, et à l'autre bout est le logement de

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six arpents[1] on each side ; they are surrounded by a good ditch and have a double gate ; there is a large open place in the middle on which all the houses look, and as their forts are situated on river banks there is a subterranean passage leading from the middle of the fort to the water's edge, so that they may go and embark without being seen ; their weapons of offence and defence are the bow and arrow, the shield, the axe, and the dart, which is a kind of lance ; these arms are of a yellow metal harder than copper ; for kettles they use pots made of sandstone or of clay ornamented on the outside and covered with a kind of varnish inside, and their domestic utensils are of a similar kind.

The house of the chief is very large and higher than the others, and it occupies the entire space opposite the gate ; his lodging and that of his slaves is at one end ; the middle is used for public meetings and the reception of

[1] A French measure of length equivalent to 192·75 English feet.

ses femmes ; que cette maison a 3. principales portes ; qu'il y a un May avec une girouette planté devant ; et qu'aux deux bouts de cette maison et au dessus sont deux têtes de bœufs ornées de petits ouvrages ; que la nation n'a qu'un grand chef ; qu'elle a un grand nombre de forts tous situés dans les deux bords d'un grand fleuve qui descend au couchant ; que les Assinipoils n'en connoissent que 9. éloignés les uns des autres d'environ une lieue, au moins ; mais ils ont oui dire qu'il y en a un grand nombre au dessus et au dessous de celui ou réside le grand chef ; Que chaque fort a bien un chef, mais qu'il dépend du premier ; que lorsqu'il arrive quelque allarme, ils s'avertissent d'un bord à l'autre, avec une espèce de trompe, de manière qu'en peu d'heures toute la nation est sur le quivive ; Que leurs canots sont petits, faits de peaux en forme de bateaux, ronds par les bouts et mené par un seul homme qui a un aviron à deux pèles, ou deux petites rames ; que ce fleuve a 18. ou 20.

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strangers, and the other end is allotted to his wives ; this house has three principal doors, there is a [totem] pole with a weather-cock erected in front of it, and at the two ends of the house and over it are two ox-heads with some ornamental work ; the tribe has only one great chief ; it has a large number of forts all situated on the two sides of a great river which flows westward ; the Assiniboin only know of nine of these, distant from one another a league at least, but they have heard that there are a great number above and below the one in which the great chief resides. Each fort has its own chief but subordinate to the principal chief.

When an alarm is raised they warn one another from opposite sides of the river by means of a kind of trumpet, so that in a few hours the whole tribe is on the alert. Their canoes are small and are made of skins in the form of boats rounded at the ends and managed by one man with a double-bladed paddle or two small oars. The river is eighteen or twenty

arpens de large, très profond et bien poissonneux ; qu'il arrose un grand pays sans montagnes, en partie découvert et en prairies, et le restant en bois de haute futaye ; que les mêmes insectes qui sont en Canada se trouvent sur ces bords ; qu'il y a aussi une espèce de serpent de 2. à 3. pieds de long qui a sur la tête deux cornes de la longueur d'un doigt qui marche la tête levée et droite, qui ne fait de mal que lorsqu'on l'attaque et qu'on marche dessus.

Les Assinipoils lui ont encore raporté qu'ils avoient parlé du françois aux Achipouanes qui en furent si charmés que le Grand chef leur avoit dit : *Vous allés voir le françois, je vous prie de dire au chef de ma part que j'aurois bien du plaisir de le voir, ou quelqu'un de sa part pour faire amitié avec luy : S'il y vient luy même, ou s'il m'envoye quelqu'un des siens, je le prie de me faire avertir auparavant, afin que je puisse envoyer au devant de lui pour le recevoir comme il le mérite.*

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arpents wide, very deep and abounding in fish, and waters a vast level country, partly bare of trees and in prairie, and the rest covered with tall bushes.

The same insects are found there as in Canada, and there is also a kind of snake two or three feet long, having on its head two horns of about a finger's length, which moves with its head erect and pointing forward, but does no harm to any one unless attacked or walked on.

The Assiniboin also reported to him that they had spoken of the Frenchman to the Ouachipouennes, who were so delighted that the principal chief said : ' You are going to see the Frenchman ; I beg of you to say to the chief from me that it would give me great pleasure to see him or some one deputed by him, so that I may make friends with him. If he comes himself, or if he sends one of his men, I should like to receive notice beforehand in order that I may send some one to meet him and give him such a reception as he merits.'

Sur la demande d'un des chefs du Lac Ouinipigon, il y a envoyé deux françois pour y former un établissement. Ces deux hommes sont revenus avec un chef et 18. hommes de ce Lac, et ont raporté qu'ils ont trouvé beaucoup de monde dont ils ont été bien reçus ; qu'ils n'ont cependant pû les engâger à monter au fort S[ain]t Charles parcequ'ils savoient qu'il n'y avoit point de fusils, de chaudières, ni de tabac ; mais que ces sauvages avoient assuré que s'ils alloient aux Anglois, c'étoit pour la dernière fois, espérant que les françois viendroient chez eux comme ils l'avoient promis ; que le lieu le plus comode tant pour la vie que pour être à portée des sauvages étoit à 2. journées dans le lac du côté du S[ud] O[uest] à l'embouchure de la Rivière rouge, où la terre est en beau bois de haute futaye ; que les sauvages leur ont dit qu'il y avoit une mine que les anglois ont dit à ces mêmes sauvages être d'argent dont ils ont aporté un petit morceau,

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At the request of one of the Lake Winnipeg chiefs he (the Sieur de la Vérendrye) sent two Frenchmen to form an establishment there. These two men returned with a chief and eighteen men from the Lake and reported that they had found a lot of people there by whom they had been well received ; they could not however induce them to go up to fort St. Charles, because they knew that there were neither guns, kettles or tobacco there, but the same savages had stated positively that if they went again to the English it would be for the last time, as they hoped that the French would come to them as they had promised.

The most convenient place, both as a residence and as being within reach of the savages, was two days' journey up the Lake on the south-west side, at the outlet of the Red river where the land is wooded with tall timber ; the savages told them there was a mine there which the English had informed them was of silver, a small piece of which metal they brought with

que cette mine contient 2. lieues sur le Lac Ouinipigon à 2. journées de la Rivière Rouge ; qu'à 5. ou 6. lieues de la même rivière il y a une source d'eau salée qui forme un bassin, que le soleil même coagule l'eau qui forme un sel très blanc, dont ils ont aporté un échantillon qui s'est trouvé bon, et dont les sauvages se servent ; que ces mêmes sauvages leur ont dit qu'ils connoissoient plusieurs autres sortes de mines qu'ils indiqueroient.

Le chef Cris venu avec ces deux françois a fait présent d'un esclave au S[ieu]r De la Vérenderye et lui a témoigné la joye de sa nation de voir le françois venir s'établir chez elle. Le S[ieu]r De la Vérenderye lui a demandé si l'Anglois savoit que nous étions chés le Cris, et s'il ne tenoit pas de mauvais discours. Le Cris lui a répondu qu'il en avoit parlé au chef Anglois, lequel lui avoit répondu que nous étions fréres, qu'il ne se fachoit jamais le premier, qu'il étoit facile de nous accomoder ensemble, que le françois vouloit le castor

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them ; this mine runs for two leagues along Lake Winnipeg two days' journey from the Red river. Five or six leagues from the same river there is a salt spring ; the heat of the sun evaporates the water, which forms a very white salt of which they brought a specimen which was found to be good ; the savages themselves use it, and the same savages said that they know several other sorts of mines which they will point out to us.

The Cree chief who arrived with these two Frenchmen presented a slave to the Sieur de la Vérendrye, and testified to the joy of his tribe in seeing the French coming to establish themselves among them. The Sieur de la Vérendrye asked if the English knew that we were with the Cree and whether they were talking in a hostile fashion. The Cree replied that he had mentioned the matter to the English leader, who had replied that we were brothers, that he was never the first to quarrel, that it was easy for us to agree,

gras, et que lui demandoit le sec, et qu'il avoit ajouté à ce chef Cris : *Si tu vas voir le chef françois dis-lui de ma part que je le prie de ne tenir aucun mauvais discours de l'Anglois, comme je n'en tiens aucun mauvais du françois.*

Le S[ieu]r De la Verenderye lui a demandé s'il y avoit loin pour se rendre au p[remi]er fort anglois de la Rivière rouge, il lui répondit qu'il falloit 10. grandes journées pour y descendre, et 20. à remonter, que la rivière est remplie de chutes et de rapides, passant par une terre stérile et traversant une chaîne de montagnes. Le S[ieu]r De la Vérenderye fît des présens à ce Cris, et l'assura que dans deux lunes, le françois iroit s'établir chés luy à la Rivière rouge. Ce chef s'en retourna content.

Le S[ieu]r De la Vérenderye fît en effet partir le 27. May 1734, 3. canots avec 12. hommes commandés par le S[ieu]r Cartier l'un de ses associés, pour se rendre au Lac Ouinipigon,

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that the French wanted the fat beaver and he wanted the dry. He had said also to the Cree chief : 'If you are going to see the French chief, tell him from me not to talk against the English as I am not talking against the French.'

The Sieur de la Vérendrye asked him if it was a long way to the first English fort on the Red river. He replied that it was ten long days' journey to go down and twenty to return, that the river is full of falls and rapids passing through a sterile country and traversing a chain of mountains. The Sieur de la Vérendrye made presents to this Cree and assured him that in two moons the Frenchman would go and establish himself with him on the Red river. The chief went back well pleased.

The Sieur de la Vérendrye did in fact despatch on the twenty-seventh of May, 1734, three canoes with twelve men commanded by the Sieur Cartier, one of his associates, to go to the mouth of the Red river on Lake Winnipeg to con-

à l'embouchure de la Rivière rouge, pour y construire un fort d'un arpent quarri, ce fort est marqué dans la carte et appelé de Maurepas, dont il lui donna le plan, avec une instruction de ce qu'il faloit faire, et ordre de dire aux sauvages que son fils y descendroit à la fin de la lune avec 2. canots.

Le S[ieu]r De la Véranderye est descendu ensuite à Montréal ; mais avant qu'il partit du fort S[ain]t Charles, il y avoit eu chés luy une assemblée de 660 guerriers Cris et Monsonis. Ces sauvages lui avoient demandé son fils pour aller en guerre avec eux et avec les Assinipoils avec lesquels ils devoient se joindre. Il avoit d'abord eu de la peine à le leur confier, par les suites que cette démarche pourroit avoir et par raport à son fils en particulier, et par raport aux françois en général. Mais ayant considéré que s'il le refusoit, ces sauvages pourroient prendre les françois pour des lâches, et que d'ailleurs son fils n'étant pas le chef du parti cela ne tireroit à aucune conséquence, il crût qu'il convenoit au bien de la

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struct there a fort of one square arpent. This fort is marked on the map and called Maurepas. He gave him the plan of it with instructions as to what he was to do, and ordered him to tell the savages that his son would go down at the end of the moon with two canoes.

The Sieur de la Vérendrye then went down to Montreal, but before he left fort St. Charles there was an assembly held there of 660 Cree and Monsoni warriors. These savages had asked that his son should go to war with them and with the Assiniboin whom he was to join. At first he was reluctant to entrust his son to them in view of the results which might ensue from such a step, both in relation to his son in particular and to the French in general. But having considered that if he refused these savages might take the French for cowards, and that besides, as his son was not the chief of the party, it could not matter much, he decided that it was for

colonie de donner son fils ; mais il refusa l'offre qu'ils faisoient de le nommer leur premier chef ; il le leur donna seulement pour conseiller et comme témoin de leur bravoure : Il donna à son fils publiquement des avis, et lui laissa en particulier une ample instruction par écrit sur la conduite qu'il devoit tenir ; et il ne voulût point que d'autres françois le suivissent. Il fit valoir auprès de ces sauvages cette marque qu'il leur donnoit de sa confiance ; et il paroist qu'ils la sentirent, puisque les deux nations se disputèrent d'abord à qui l'auroit. Le chef Cris se leva le premier, et adressant la parole au S[ieu]r De La Veranderye, lui dit *Mon Père, tu sais que ton fils est à moy et que je l'ay adopté, sa place est dans mon canot, il y a un guerrier pour le servir, et 2. femmes pour porter son équipage.* Le S[ieu]r de la Véranderie le fils, le remercia, et adressant la parole aux Monsonis leur dit : *Mes frères*

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the good of the colony to let him go ; but he refused the offer which they made to name him their first chief, and only gave him to them as their counsellor and as a witness of their bravery.

He gave advice to his son publicly, and in particular furnished him with full instructions in writing as to the course of conduct he was to hold, and he did not want any other Frenchmen to follow him. He impressed upon the savages that he was giving them a considerable mark of his confidence, and it appears that they felt it to be such, seeing that at first the two tribes disputed as to which should have the young man.

The Cree chief rose first and, addressing the Sieur de la Vérendrye, said : 'My Father, you know that your son belongs to me and that I adopted him ; his place is in my canoe and there is a warrior to serve him, with two women to carry his baggage.'

The younger Sieur de la Vérendrye thanked him and, addressing the Monsoni, said : 'My brothers, do not be

ne soyés point peinés, je vous prie, si je m'embarque avec les Cris, nous marchons tous ensemble, vos cabanes sont les miennes et nous ne faisons qu'un.

Ce discours les contenta tous. Le S[ieu]r De la Vérenderye le Père prit alors la parole, donna un cassetête à chacun des deux chefs, chanta la guerre avec eux, leur raconta la manière dont on la fait en France, leur fit festin, et leur parla ensuite de la traitte. Il leur expliqua combien il leur étoit plus avantageux de la faire avec les françois, qu'avec les Anglois, et les renvoya quelques jours après très contens de lui et de ses présens.

M[onsieur] le M[arqu]is de Beauharnois marque que le S[ieu]r De la Véranderye doit partir au printemps prochain pour se rendre à Ouynipigon, et prendre les mesures convenables pour aller le printemps suivant chez les Ouachipouannes, et établir l'alliance que les Assinipoils lui ont assuré que cette nation souhaite de faire avec les françois. Il compte d'en faire aprendre

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troubled if I embark with the Cree ; we are all going together, your wigwams are mine, and we form one body.'

This speech pleased them all. The elder Sieur de la Vérendrye then made a speech, gave a tomahawk to each of the two chiefs, sang the war-song with them, told them how war was conducted in France, gave them a feast and then talked business. He explained how much more advantageous it was for them to trade with the French than with the English, and sent them away a few days later highly pleased with him and his presents.

Monsieur the Marquis de Beauharnois observes that the Sieur de la Vérendrye is to leave next spring for Lake Winnipeg, and make suitable arrangements for leaving the spring following to go to the country of the Ouachipouennes and establish the alliance which the Assiniboin have assured him that tribe desires to make with the French ; he expects to

la langue à un de ses enfans qui a beaucoup de disposition pour cela, afin de s'en servir pour interprete auprès de cette nation et en tirer les connoissances dont il aura besoin pour suivre son entreprise.

Après l'examen que cet officier a fait du chemin qui lui paroissoit le plus propre et le plus court pour se rendre du Lac Supérieur au Lac Tekamamiouen, il a remarqué que le chemin que le S[ieu]r de la Jemeraye avoit trouvé et dans lequel il n'y avoit que 9. portages n'est pas convenable, en ce qu'il augmente la route de 120. lieues, et que d'ailleurs les eaux y sont très souvent si basses, que les canots de 8. places n'y pourroient naviguer. Il préfère donc la première route qu'il avoit prise, d'autant plus que de 41. portages qu'il y avoit trouvé il n'y en a à présent que 32. par les mesures qu'il a prises,

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be able to get one of his children who has great talent in that way to learn the language, so that he may serve as an interpreter with that tribe, and draw from them the information that he will require in order to follow out his enterprise.

After the examination which that officer made of the road which appeared to him the most suitable and the shortest between Lake Superior and Lake Tecamamiouen, he remarked that the road discovered by the Sieur de la Jemeraye, on which there were only nine portages, is open to objection from the fact that it increases the distance by one hundred and twenty leagues, and besides that the streams are often so low that canoes holding eight men could not navigate them; he therefore prefers the first route he had taken, and all the more because, owing to measures he has taken, the forty-one portages which he had found on it have been reduced to thirty-two.

Il n'y a aucune aparence que l'affaire des Renards aporte aucun obstacle à cette entreprise. Il y a lieu d'espérer que cette affaire n'aura pas de suite ; et d'ailleurs les établissemens du S[ieu]r de la Véranderye sont dans des pais ou les Sakis n'ont jamais pénétré, et où ils n'oseroient d'ailleurs faire faire aucune tentative par l'apréhension qu'ils auroient des nations que le S[ieu]r De la Véranderye s'est affidé, et qui prendroient incontestablement son party.

M[onsieur] de Beauharnois a expliqué à cet officier que le Roy ne vouloit entrer dans aucune dépense sur cette découverte. Il est cepend[an]t certain que lui et ses associés ont fait des dépenses qui excèdent de beaucoup les profits ; mais il a trouvé à s'équiper chés des négocians qui lui ont avancé ce qu'il avoit besoin.

Suplie d'engager le Roy à entrer dans quelques considérations à l'égard de cet officier, dont le zèle pour cette

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There is no apparent probability that the affair of the Foxes will throw any obstacle in the way of this enterprise. There is ground for hoping that it will not lead to anything ; and, besides, the establishments of the Sieur de la Vérendrye are in those countries where the Sakis have never penetrated, and where moreover they would never venture to make any warlike movement owing to their dread of the tribes which the Sieur de la Vérendrye has attached to himself and which would undoubtedly take his side.

Monsieur de Beauharnois has explained to that officer that the King was not disposed to incur any expense in connection with the discovery in question ; he is nevertheless certain that he and his associates have involved themselves in an outlay far exceeding their profits ; however, he has been able to obtain supplies from merchants who have advanced him what he required.

Begs that he may induce the King to show some consideration to that officer, whose zeal for this enterprise cannot

entreprise ne peut être soupconné d'aucun autre motif, que de celui du bien de la colonie et du service du Roy.

M[essieu]rs de Beauharnois et Hocquart rendent en commun les mêmes témoignages du zèle de cet officier.

Cy-joint est la carte du S[ieu]r de la Véranderye.

Memoire en forme de Journal de tout ce qui s'est passé au fort S^t^. Charles depuis le 27 May 1733 jusqu'au 12 Juillet de l'année suivante 1734, pour être remis à Monsieur le Marquis de Beauharnois Gouverneur general de la Nouvelle france par son tres humble serviteur Laveranderie, qui a été honoré de ses ordres pour l'etablissement de plusieurs Postes qui frayent le chemin pour decouvrir la Mer de l'Oüest.

Le 27 May 1733, je fis partir du fort S^t^. Charles situé au Sud du Lac des Bois, à l'embouchûre d'une Riviere qui

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be suspected of springing from any other motive than a desire for the welfare of the colony and the advantages of the King's service.

Messieurs de Beauharnois and Hocquart unite in bearing witness to that officer's zeal.

Hereto annexed is the map made by the Sieur de la Vérendrye.[1]

Report in Journal form of all that took place at fort St. Charles from May 27, 1733, to July 12 of the following year, 1734, to be transmitted to the Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor-General of New France, by his very humble servant Laveranderie,[2] who has been honoured with his orders for the establishment of several Posts to prepare the way for the discovery of the Western Sea.

On May 27, 1733, I despatched the Sieur de la Jemeraye, my nephew and second in command, from fort St. Charles,

[1] Not signed.

[2] So the explorer himself spells it in this title to his report. It will be seen that his signature at the end of the report is in another form.

s'y decharge, le S^r. de la Jemeraye mon Neveu et mon Second, pour aller rendre compte à Monsieur le Marquis de Beauharnois des découvertes que nous avions desja faites, et des deux forts que nous avions construits, le p^er appellé fort S^t Pierre au Lac à la Pluye,[a] le deuxieme fort S^t. Charles pour nous mettre en êtat d'executer les ordres dont il nous à honoré, et Luy presenter une carte des nouveaux païs que nous avons decouvert et des Nations qui les habitent.

Monsieur le Marquis de Beauharnois n'jgnore pas que les Scioux, et Saulteurs ses Enfants font la guerre depuis un tems Jmmemorial aux Monsonis Et aux cristinaux ou cris, même aux Assenipoils, (deux Nations contre Trois) Jls font continuellement de part et d'autre des partis de guerre qui vont les uns chez les autres, comme il le verra dans la suitte de ce Journal, ce qui les detruit peu à peu, les

[a] Autrement Tekamami8en.

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situated to the south of the Lake of the Woods at the mouth of a river discharging therein, to go and report to the Marquis de Beauharnois as to the discoveries we had already made and the two forts we had constructed, the first called fort St. Pierre on Rainy lake, otherwise called Tecamamiouen, the second fort St. Charles, for the purpose of enabling ourselves to execute the orders with which he has honoured us, and to present to him a map of the new countries discovered and of the nations inhabiting them.

The Marquis de Beauharnois is aware that the Sioux and Saulteurs, his children, have been carrying on war from time immemorial against the Monsoni and the Cristinaux or Cree, and even against the Assiniboin (two tribes against three). On both sides they are continually forming war parties to invade one another's territory, as will be seen further on in this Journal, a state of things which is gradually

empêche de chasser, et fait un tort tres considerable au commerce de Canada.

Les Monsonis et les cristinaux ayants formés le dessein d'aller en guerre contre les Saulteurs de la Poïnte et les Scioux, ils se partagerent en deux bandes. Les Monsonis au nombre de trois cent guerriers et plus, qui formoient la premiere et qui devoit aller sur le Saulteur, arriverent le 15. Iuin au fort S^t. Charles, qui me cacherent d'abord leur dessein de peur que je ne m'y opposasse, et me demanderent de la poudre, des balles, et du Tabac pour aller contre les Mascoutins Poüanes ; mais un chef m'ayant tout decouvert,

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destroying them, hinders their hunting, and does very considerable harm to the commerce of Canada.

The Monsoni and the Cree having planned to march against the Saulteur of the Point[1] and the Sioux, they divided themselves into two bands. The Monsoni, to the number of three hundred warriors and over, who formed the first band and who were to attack the Saulteurs, arrived on the 15th June at fort St. Charles.

At first they concealed their intention from me for fear I should oppose it, and asked me for powder, ball and tobacco that they might go against the Mascoutens Poüanes[2] ; but

[1] Saulteur, or Chippewa, of La Pointe, Chequamegon, south shore of Lake Superior. This had been an important settlement of the Chippewa since 1692, when the French re-established their trading post at La Pointe.

[2] Not to be confounded with the Mascoutens proper, or ' Little prairie people,' an Algonquian tribe whose home was in the neighbourhood of Fox river, Wisconsin, where they were visited by Perrot previous to 1669, by Allouez in 1670, and Marquette in 1673. The Mascoutens Poüanes, or Mascoutins Poüanes, Sioux of the Prairie, were the Pawnee, a confederacy of the Caddoan family, referred to in early narratives as the Pani, or Indian slaves. See Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, under titles ' Mascoutens ' and ' Pawnee.' Benjamin Sulte says : ' The Sioux Mascoutins lived about the Iowa river, in the northern part. They were given that name by the Illinois, who had resided west of the Mississippi before going to East Wisconsin, and who returned to the west side of the Mississippi in 1657, once more migrating to the Illinois river in 1674–75.' The name ' Pani ' might open up an interesting discussion on Indian slavery. The Panis were specifically mentioned in early Canadian laws against slavery. See under ' Slavery ' in *Ency. of Canadian History*.

j'appellay tous les chefs, je leur presentay un collier de la part de nôtre Pere qui leur deffendoit d'aller en guerre contre les Saulteurs ses Enfants, et je leur dis que s'ils ecoutoient sa parolle, je leur accorderois tout ce qu'ils me demanderoient, ils reçùrent le Collier et promirent d'obeir, se soumettants à la volonté de leur Pere, mais pour mettre leurs terres à couvert des partis Ennemis, ils me demanderent de passer par la riviere S^{t}. Pierre pour aller joindre les Cris dans les prairies aux quels ils avoient donné parole, Ceux cy arriverent le lendemain au nombre de 500 hommes qui devoient marcher contre les Scioux françois, tous leurs desseins echoüerent dans le meme Conseil et ils se soumirent tous, ce qui m'obligêa de leur donner ce qu'ils me demanderent poudre, balles, fusils, couteaux à boucheron, dagues, battefeux pierres à fusils, alaines, Tabac, &^{a}, dont j'ay gardé le memoire.

Les 300 Monsonis ayants remontés la Riviere S^{t}. Pierre jusqu'au haut d'une fourche, ou ils devoient laisser leurs

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one of their chiefs having told me the real facts, I got all the chiefs together and gave them a collar in the name of our Father who forbade them to make war on his children the Saulteurs ; and I said to them that, if they were obedient to his word, I would give them everything they asked.

They received the collar and promised to obey, submitting themselves to their Father's will, but, in order to protect their lands from hostile parties, they asked me to go to the St. Pierre river and join the Cree in the prairies, they having given their word to do so. The latter arrived the next day to the number of five hundred, intending to march against the French Sioux ; but all their plans came to naught in the same council, and all submitted. I was consequently obliged to give them all they asked, powder, bullets, guns, butcher's knives, daggers, gun-flints, awls, tobacco, etc., of which I have kept a list.

The 300 Monsoni, having gone up the river St. Pierre again as far as a fork where they were to leave their canoes

Canots pour entrer dans les prairies, rencontrerent trois hommes Saulteurs et Scioux, decouvreurs d'un party de 100 hommes, les Monsonis tirerent dessus, et en tirerent un dont ils leverent la chevelure, les deux autres furent assez heureux de se sauver, les 300 hommes relâcherent pour se plaindre à Moy, disants que les Saulteurs et Scioux continuoient de les tuer, et n'ecoutoient pas la parole de leur Pere, Je leur fis donner du Tabac, leur temoignant la Joye que j'avois de ce qu'ils n'avoient pas donné sur les 100 hommes, et que je connoissois par la qu'ils êtoient les veritables Enfants de nôtre Pere, ils retournerent tres contents à leurs familles.

Les 500 Cristinaux après vingt Jours de marche dans les prairies, à la vûë des fumées du village qu'ils vouloient attaquer au soleil levant, (le prenant toujours pour temoin de leur bravoure,) leur arriere-garde fut attaquée par 30 Scioux qui avoient croisé leur chemin, les prenants pour Assenipoils non en guerre, en tuerent quatre, tout le party fonçâ dessus,

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to go into the prairies, met three men, Saulteur and Sioux, scouts of a party of one hundred. The Monsoni fired on them and killed one whose scalp they took. The two others were lucky enough to escape, and the 300 came back to complain to me, saying that the Saulteur and the Sioux were continuing to kill them and did not heed the word of their Father. I gave them some tobacco, and expressed the joy I felt that they had not fired on the 100 men, saying that I knew by that they were the true children of our Father. They returned highly pleased to their families.

The 500 Cree after twenty days' march in the prairies came within sight of the smoke of the village which they wished to attack at sunrise (they always take the sun as witness of their valour), when their rearguard was attacked by 30 Sioux who had crossed their track and who took them for Assiniboin not on the war-path. The assailants killed four, when the whole party came on them.

les Scioux surpris d'avoir affaire à tant de monde prirent la fuitte, abandonnerent une partie de leurs armes, pour gagner un bois jsolé au milieu des prairies, ou ils se battirent jusqu'a la nuit, les Cris à decouvert et en braves, les Scioux cachés derrière les arbres, ils perdirent douze hommes sans les blessés, la nuit ayant fait finir le combat, le Chef Cris demandâ ; qui est-ce qui nous tuë, le Scioux repondit les Scioux françois, le Cris reprit nous sommes Cristinaux françois, Pourquoy nous tuez vous ? nous sommes freres et Enfants du même Pere ; le jour êtant venû on fît des excuses de part et d'autre, et pour marque de leur repentir, on matachâ les morts de part et d'autre, et on les laissâ sans sepulture avec leurs armes et Equipages, chacun se retirâ.

Le 18. Iuillet, les cris arriverent au fort S^{t}. Charles après

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The Sioux, surprised at the number of the enemy, took flight, abandoning a portion of their arms in order to reach an isolated wood in the midst of the prairie, where the fight went on until nightfall, the Cree in the open like brave men, the Sioux hiding behind trees. They lost twelve men without counting the wounded.

Night having brought the combat to a close, the Cree chief called out 'Who is it that is killing us ?' The Sioux replied 'The French Sioux,' to which the Cree rejoined 'We are French Cree. Why are you killing us ? We are brothers and children of the same Father.' When day came excuses were made on both sides, and to mark their repentance they *matachâ* [1] the dead of both parties and left them without burial, but with their arms and outfits, after which they withdrew.

On the 18th of July the Cree arrived at fort St. Charles

[1] Mrs. F. H. Paget, of Ottawa, suggests that the word is probably *macha*, meaning in the Chippewa tongue that they took leave of the dead—sent them to the happy hunting grounds. It should be in the plural form, *machaouk*.

dix jours de marche fort affligés de leur quatre morts parmi lesquels étoit le fils d'un grand Chef, ils avoient cinq blessés, il fallut couvrir leurs morts, il faut remarquer que quand ils reviennent chez Eux, sur tout après quelque Expedition ils marchent jour et nuit.

Le 20 un Monsonis ayant decouvert dans la Riviere S^{t} Pierre, 20 Saulteurs et Scioux qui cherchoient à faire coup, vint m'avertir, se plaignant de ce que ces deux Nations cherchoient toujours à les tuer et que je les retenois, je fis avertir tous les sauvages voisins de se tenir sur leurs gardes, je leur fis donner de la poudre, des balles et du Tabac.

Le 10 Aoust Trois de nos Canots chargés de marchandises arrivèrent jcy d'ou ils êtoient partis le 27 May chargés de paquets pour Kamanistigoüya, ils ne trouverent personne, mais ils trouverent les vestiges de plusieurs hommes.

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after ten days' march, greatly afflicted at the loss of their four men, amongst whom was the son of their great chief. They had five men wounded and they were obliged to cover their dead. It may be remarked that when they return home, especially after an expedition, they walk day and night.

On the 20th a Monsoni, having discovered on the river St. Pierre twenty Saulteur and Sioux who were seeking to make an attack, came and notified me, complaining that these two tribes were always seeking to kill them, and that I was holding them [the Monsoni] back; whereupon I sent word to all the neighbouring savages to be on the watch and gave them a supply of powder, ball and tobacco.

On the 10th of August three of our canoes arrived here laden with merchandise, having left here on the 27th of May laden with packages [of skins] for Kaministikwia. They met no one, but saw tracks of several men.

Le 29 Aoust 150 Canots *deux et trois hommes par Canot,* Cris et Monsonis, arriverent chargés de viandes, graisses d'orignal et de Bœuf, huiles d'Ours et de folles avoines, me demandants d'avoir pitié d'Eux et de leur faire donner des marchandises à credit, ce qui leur fût accordé après une délibération entre les Jntéressés.

Le 8 Septembre je fis partir mon fils avec six hommes pour aller au fort S[t] Pierre attendre les Canots de Montréal pour la fourniture des postes, les quatre premiers Canots arriverent le 28 Septembre, et les deux autres le deux octobre avec tous les Monsonis qu'ils avoient rencontré, mon fils laissâ à Marin Urtebise tout ce qui êtoit necessaire pour hiverner avec douze françois, Luy donnâ le pouvoir par ecrit que je Luy avois remis, conforme à la deliberation cy

* Ces six mots sont ajoutés en marge par un renvoi, une étoile : *.

On the 29th of August 150 canoes, with two or three men in each, Cree and Monsoni, arrived laden with meats, moose and beef fat, bear oil and wild oats, the men begging me to have pity on them and give them goods on credit, which was granted them after consultation among those interested.

On the 8th of September I sent off my son with six men to go to fort St. Pierre to await the canoes from Montreal for the furnishing of the forts. The first four canoes arrived on the 28th of September, and the remaining two on the 2nd of October with all the Monsoni whom they had met. My son left with Marin Urtebise[1] all that he required for wintering with twelve Frenchmen, gave him the written authority which he had received from me in accordance with what was decided on in the consultation referred to above,

[1] Tanguay gives the spelling of the name as Heurtebise, or Hurtebise. Born 1697; married Marie Anne Trotier at Montreal, 1732. Probably went up with La Jemeraye the following year. In a letter of La Jonquière to the French Minister, dated September 16, 1751, it is mentioned that Marin Urtubise (as he spells it) had been killed by a Sioux of the Prairie a few years before.

dessus, amenâ au fort S[t] Charles le reste des hommes et des Canots et arrivâ le 12 Octobre.

Les grandes pluyes du printems qui avoient êté continuelles et qui avoient fait grand tort aux folles avoines sur lesquelles nous comptions, ne laisserent pas de nous mettre en peine, n'ayants pas assez de vivres pour l'hivernement, je m'avisay d'envoyer dix hommes de l'autre côté du Lac qui à 26. Lieües de Traverse avec des outils pour se bâtir à l'embouchûre d'une rivière qui vient du nord nord Est, et des Rets pour la pêche, ils prirent L'automne même plus de 4000 gros poissons blancs, sans les Truittes, Eturgeons, et autres poissons dans le cours de L'hiver, et revinrent au fort S[t] Charles Le 2 May 1734 aprés la fonte des glaces, ainsi ils vecurent de Chasse et de pêche fort gratieusement.

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and brought to fort St. Charles the rest of the men and canoes, arriving on the 12th of October.

The heavy rains of the spring, which had been incessant and had done great harm to the wild oats on which we were counting, put us in a difficult position as we had not enough provisions to last the winter. I bethought me to send ten men to the other side of the lake, which is 26 leagues wide, with tools for building themselves a shelter at the mouth of a river running in from the north-north-east, and with nets for fishing. They caught that autumn more than 4000 big whitefish, not to speak of trout, sturgeon and other fish [1] in the course of the winter, and returned to fort St. Charles on the 2nd of May, 1734, after the ice had melted. They thus lived by hunting and fishing at no expense.

[1] Whitefish, trout and sturgeon were a few years ago still abundant in the Lake of the Woods; in fact, they furnished the chief industry on the south shore. At the town of Warroad the writer saw a sturgeon of 158 lbs. that had just been brought in by one of the boats; and was told that one of nearly 250 lbs. had been caught the previous season. The roe, or caviare, was shipped to the New York market. The river referred to may have been Black river, or Rushing river, or possibly what is now known as the Tug Channel, between the Peninsula and Falcon Island.

Les Pluyes qui nous avoient fait tort le printems, nous chagrinerent encore au Mois de Septembre, Jl plût avec tant d'abondance depuis le 6. jusqu'au 14 Septembre, que les Eaües du Lac en furent longtems si troublées, que le grand nombre de sauvages, qui etoient à nôtre fort, ne pouvoient voir l'Eturgeon pour le darder, et n'avoient pas de quoy vivre, dans ce besoin extrême je leurs abandonnay le champ de bled d'inde que j'avois fait semer le printems et qui n'étoit pas encore entierement mûr, nos Engagés en tirerent aussi ce qu'jls pûrent. les sauvages me remercierent fort de ce secours que je leur avois donné. La semence d'un minot de pois après en avoir mangé en verd pendant longtems en rendit encore dix que j'ay fait semer le printems suivant avec du bled d'Inde; I'ay engagé deux familles sauvages à semer du bled à force de les solliciter, j'espere que la douceur qu'elles en tireront, engagera les autres à suivre leur exemple, Jls en seront mieux et nous moins incommodés.

The rain that had done us harm in the spring troubled us again in the month of September. It rained so heavily from the 6th to the 14th of September that for a long time the water of the lake was so discoloured that the savages, of whom there were a great many at our fort, could not see to spear the sturgeon, and had nothing to eat. In this extreme need of theirs I made over to them the field of Indian corn which I had sown in the spring, and which was not yet entirely ripe. Our hired men also got what they could out of it. The savages thanked me greatly for the relief I had thus afforded them. The sowing of a bushel of peas after we had been eating them green for a long time gave us ten bushels, which I had sown the following spring with some Indian corn. I had by entreaty induced two families of savages to sow corn, and I hope that the comfort they derived from it will lead others to follow their example. They will be better off and we less bothered.

Nota qu'jl ne pleut pas si souvent ici qu'en Canada et que ces pluijes sont extraordinaires selon le rapport des sauvages.

Depuis le 16 Septembre Jusqu'a Noël nous avons eû le plus beau tems du monde, les gelées commencerent vers le 15 Novembre, il geloit la nuit, mais il faisoit très beau soleil le jour, point de vent ; Le Lac prit cependant le 22 Novembre, ce qui engageâ 100 sauvages hommes et femmes qui êtoient de l'autre côté du Lac, de nous porter de la viande et de la pelletrie. tous les sauvages ont fait grande chasse jusqu'a Noël n'y ayant point encore de neige.

Le 28 Decembre quatre chefs, deux Assenipoils et deux

Note, that it does not rain as often here as in Canada, and that these rains are unusual according to the report of the savages.

From the 16th of September up to Christmas we have had the most beautiful weather imaginable. Frost set in about the 15th of November, it froze at night, but there was bright sunshine during the day and no wind. Still the ice took on the lake on the 22nd of November,[1] which caused 100 savages, men and women, who were on the other side of the lake to bring us meat and peltries. All the savages had great hunting up to Christmas, there being no snow.

On the 28th of December four chiefs, two Assiniboin

[1] It may be interesting to compare this statement of ice conditions in 1733 with the dates of 'freeze-up' during the first decade of the twentieth century. The following particulars are supplied from the meteorological reports at Kenora, on the Lake of the Woods, through the courtesy of the Manitoba Hydrographic Survey. In 1899 the bay was frozen over December 13; in 1900, November 23; 1901, November 18; 1902, November 30; 1903, November 18; 1904, November 30; 1905, November 29; 1907, November 15; 1908, December 1; 1909, November 22. Dates are not supplied for 1906, 1910 or 1911. La Vérendrye's statement that his men 'returned to fort St. Charles on May 2, 1734, after the ice had melted' may be taken as approximately the date when the lake was clear of ice. The corresponding dates for the period above mentioned are: 1900, April 20; 1901, April 22; 1902, April 27; 1903, April 16; 1904, April 23; 1905, April 20; 1906, April 22; 1907, May 17; 1910, April 8; 1911, April 24. Dates missing for years 1908 and 1909.

Cristinaux arriverent le soir aprés les portes fermées. deux Monsonis qui venoient du fort S^{t}. Pierre arriverent dans le même tems, je leurs fis ouvrir les portes pour sçavoir le sujet de leur voyage.

Les quatre premiers dirent qu'jls venoient de la part de six chefs des deux Nations, me demander si je voulois les recevoir Enfants de nôtre Pere, ils n'êtoient qu'à demie journée du fort, et si je leur accordois leur demande ils me prioient de leur envoyer du bled et du Tabac pour marque de ma bienveillance.

Le 29 au matin Je retins les deux Cris et j'envoyay mon fils avec les deux assenipoils et deux françois les assûrer de mon amitié et leur porter un sac de bled d'inde et du tabac. Aprés six heures de marche ils les trouverent campés au nombre de 60 Assenipoils, 30 de leurs femmes et 10 Cris attendant ma reponse, sitôt qu'jls virent mon fils dont jls

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and two Cree, arrived in the evening after the gates were closed. Two Monsoni who came from fort St. Pierre arrived at the same time. I had the gates opened for them to learn the object of their journey.

The first four said that they came on behalf of six chiefs of the two tribes to ask me if I would receive them as children of our Father ; they were only half a day's journey from the fort, and they begged me, if I granted their request, to send them some Indian corn and some tobacco as a mark of my goodwill.

On the morning of the 29th I retained the two Cree and sent my son with the two Assiniboin and two Frenchmen to assure them of my friendship and take them a sack of corn and some tobacco. After six hours they found them encamped to the number of 60 Assiniboin, 30 of their wives, and 10 Cree, awaiting my reply. As soon as they saw my son, of whose approach they were informed by one of the chiefs

êtoient avertis par un des chefs qui avoit pris le devant, ils firent de grands cris de Joye, et le reçûrent au bruit de trois decharges de fusils et de fleches, tous n'ayants pas de fusil.

Les deux Monsonis me donnerent une Lettre de Marin Urtebise, et me dirent que trois cent hommes prêts a partir contre le Scioux et le Saulteur chantoient la guerre, la lettre disoit la même chose et adjoutoit qu'jls n'ecoutoient plus aucune parolle, le même jour 29, je fis partir les deux Monsonis pour retourner chez Eux avec un collier et du Tabac pour arrêter les 300 guerriers Jusqu'a mon arrivée au fort S^{t}. Pierre, disant que je partirois dans quinze Jours, et que je voulois aller chanter la guerre avec Eux, quoique la saison fût la plus rude, c'êtoit dans le fonds pour rompre ce coup.

Le même Jour les portes fermantes arriverent deux assenipoils envoyés des chefs me dire de ne point m'jmpatienter, que mon fils arriveroit avec Eux le lendemain à midy.

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who had gone ahead, they uttered loud shouts of joy, and received him to the sound of three discharges of their guns and a flight of arrows, as all were not provided with guns.

The two Monsoni gave me a letter from Marin Urtebise and told me that three hundred men ready to start out against the Sioux and the Saulteur were singing the war song; the letter said the same thing and added that they would not listen to anything. On the same day, the 29th, I sent back the two Monsoni with a collar and some tobacco to stop the 300 men until my arrival at fort St. Pierre, saying that I would leave in fifteen days, and that I wanted to go and sing the war song with them, although the season was the most severe of the year. My object in reality was to arrest the blow.

The same day as the gates were closing two Assiniboin arrived, sent by some chiefs to tell me not to be impatient as my son would arrive with them the next day at noon.

Le 30, à deux heures aprés midy parûrent les assenipoils et Cris qui firent trois decharges en decouvrant le pavillon, les 20 françois que j'avois estants sous les armes y repondirent, les six chefs conduits par mon fils entrerent dans le fort, j'envoyay marquer le campement, on ne parlâ point d'affaires ce Jour la, Jl se passâ en compliments de part et d'autre, Je leurs fis distribuer des vivres et du tabac.

Le Conseil se tint le 31, le neveu d'un chef qui parloit cris portâ la parolle au nom de toute sa nation qui consiste en sept villages dont le moindre est de cent cabanes, et le plus grand de 8 à 9 cent, Jl me priâ de les recevoir tous au nombre des Enfants de Nôtre Pere, d'avoir pitié d'Eux et de leurs familles, qu'jls êtoient en necessité de Tout, manquants de haches, Couteaux, chaudieres, fusils &ª, qu'jls esperoient retirer de Moy toutes ces choses si je voulois leur permettre de venir à mon fort ; leur present êtoit un paquet

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On the 30th at two o'clock in the afternoon, the Assiniboin and Cree appeared and fired three volleys on perceiving the flag ; the twenty Frenchmen whom I had, being under arms, replied ; and the six chiefs, conducted by my son, entered the fort. I sent to mark their encampment ; no business was talked that day ; it was passed in mutual compliments, and I had them served with provisions and tobacco.

The Council was held on the 31st. The nephew of a chief spoke in the Cree language in the name of his whole tribe, which consists of seven villages, the smallest of which numbers a hundred cabins and the largest eight or nine hundred. He begged me to receive them all into the number of the children of our Father, to have pity on them and their families, that they were in a general condition of destitution, lacking axes, knives, kettles, guns, etc., that they hoped to get all these things from me if I would let them come to my fort. The present they brought was a package of beaver

de Castor et environ 100^{L} de graisses de Bœuf, je leur repondis avec un sac de bled et seize brasses de Tabac, mes Enfants je vous diray demain ce que me mande Nôtre Père à vôtre sujet et vous feray connoistre Sa Volonté, Jls jetterent un grand cris de Joye et se retirerent.

Deux des six chefs du bas du Lac Ouynipigon sont cristinaux, les quatre autres sont Assenipoils chargés des parolles de tous leurs villages.

Le p^{er}. Ianvier 1734 à dix heures du matin ils vinrent tous au conseil avec les françois du poste, Je fis porter au milieu 30^{L}. de poudre, 40^{L}. de balles, 200 pierres à fusils, 30 brasses de tabac, 20 haches, 60 Couteaux tant grands que petits, 60 tireboures, 60 alaisnes, rassade, Eguilles, vermillon, &a, Je commençay par leur dire que Nôtre Pere le grand Chef seroit fort satisfait de ce qu'jls êtoient venus me voir au fort S^{t}. Charles, que je les recevois en son nom au nombre

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skins and about 100 lbs. of beef fat. I gave them in return one sack of corn and sixteen fathoms of tobacco. 'My children,' I said, 'I will tell you to-morrow what are our Father's orders to me regarding you, and shall let you know his will.' They uttered a great shout of joy and retired.

Two of the six chiefs from the lower part of Lake Winnipeg are Cree, the other four are Assiniboin instructed to speak on behalf of all their villages.

On the 1st of January, 1734, at ten o'clock in the morning, they all came to the council with the French of the post. I had 30 lbs. of powder, 40 lbs. of bullets, 200 gunflints, 30 fathoms of tobacco, 20 axes, 60 knives, large and small, 60 ramrods, 60 awls, glass beads, needles, vermilion, etc., brought and placed in the middle.

I then began by telling them that our Father, the great chief, would be very glad that they had come to see me at fort St. Charles: in his name I received them into the number

de ses Enfants, que je leur recommandois de ne Jamais ecouter d'autre parolle que la sienne qui leur seroit annoncée par My ou par celuy qui seroit à ma place, et de ne pas oublier les parolles que je leur disois pour les faire sçavoir aux absents, que le françois êtoit nombreux, qu'jl n'y avoit point de terre dont jl ne sçût les chemins et qu'jl n'y avoit qu'un grand Chef parmi Eux dont je leur portois la parolle, auquel tous les autres obeissent, Que s'jls luy obeïssoient aussy comme ses Enfants il leur envoyeroit tous les ans des françois porter leurs besoins dont Jls manquoient, Et enfin que s'ils avoient de l'esprit, c'est à dire s'ils portoient bien des peaux, ils proffiteroient de ce que Je leur disois, ils accorderent tout avec de grandes acclamations de Joye, je leur fis part des nouvelles de Canada et même de france comme J'avois fait aux Domiciliers de mon poste ; Je fis distribuer les presens cydessus marqués à tous, excepté les six chefs auxquels Je dis de revenir à la même heure le

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of his children ; I recommended them never to listen to any other word than his, which would be announced to them by me or by someone in my place ; and not to forget the words I was speaking to them but to bring them to the knowledge of those who were absent ; the French were numerous, there was no land unknown to them, and there was only one great chief among them, whose mouthpiece I was, and whom all the others obeyed. If they obeyed him also as his children, every year he would send Frenchmen to them to bring them such things as they required to satisfy their needs. And finally, if they were clever, that is to say, if they brought plenty of skins, they would benefit by what I was saying to them.

They all agreed with loud expressions of joy. I gave them news from Canada and even from France, as I had done to those who were settled at my post. I then caused the presents above mentioned to be distributed to all with the exception of the six chiefs, whom I told to come back next day with

Lendemain avec les plus considerables d'entre Eux, Je fis donner du bled et du poisson à Tous pour faire festin, sans chaudière on ne seroit pas bons amis.

Le 2 Ianvier tous les françois dans ma chambre les six chefs et les principaux y entrerent, J'avois fait mettre au milieu 12^{L} de balles, 20^{L} de poudre, 6. haches, 6. dagues, 12 couteaux siamois, deux douzaines d'alesnes, Eguilles, rassade, vermillon, Tireboures, six casse-têtes à dague, six Colliers de rassade, six pavillons, 24 brasses de tabac, six capots gallonnés, six chemises, six brayers, six paires de mitasses, le Tout partagé entre les six chefs.

Apres les presens reçûs je les remerciay selon leurs manières à plusieurs fois au nom de nôtre Pere de ce qu'jls m'êtoient venus voir, je suis honteux, leur dis-je, de n'avoir que cela à vous donner aujourd'huy, mais si vous avez de l'esprit, vous reviendrez me voir avec tous les Gens de vos

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their most considerable men. I also gave some corn and some fish to all to make a feast: without the help of the pot you cannot have friendship.

On the 2nd of January, all the Frenchmen being in my room, the six chiefs and the principal men entered. In the middle of the room I had caused to be placed 12 lbs. of ball, 20 lbs. of powder, 6 axes, 6 daggers, 12 Siamese knives, two dozen awls, needles, beads, vermilion, gun-screws, six dagger hatchets, six collars of beads, six flags, 24 fathoms of tobacco, six cloaks with gilt bands, six shirts, six pairs of breeches, six pairs of leggings, the whole of which I divided among the six chiefs.

After the bestowal of the presents I thanked them several times, according to their custom, in the name of our Father, for having come to see me. 'I am ashamed,' I said, 'to have only that to give you to-day, but, if you are clever, you will come back to see me with all the people of your villages

villages apres leur chasse affin d'être en état d'avoir vos besoins du Traitteur, ne venez pas les mains vuides, comme vous avez fait la premiere fois, ils se prirent à sourrire ; Je leur dis que les colliers êtoient pour applanir tous les chemins de mon fort et que les pavillons êtoient pour rassembler tout le monde dessous, et se dire desormais Enfants des françois et non des Anglois, que je les recevrois tout autrement quand je les verrois venir en gens d'esprit, c'est a dire avec bien des paquets ; j'adjoutay, mes Enfants, J'ay avec Moy un forgeron qui sçait faire haches, fusils, couteaux, chaudières et tout autre chose, mais il manque de fer et il est difficile d'en faire venir de Montréal, à cause de la Longueur du Chemin, quelqu'un d'entre vous n'a'-il pas connoissance de fer, de quelque couleur qu'jl fût il seroit bon à travailler. après une longue deliberation entre Eux, l'Jnterprête se levâ, ce qu'jl n'avoit pas encore fait aux autres conseils, et commença au

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after their hunting, so that you may be in a position to have your wants supplied by the trader. Don't come with empty hands as you did the first time.' This made them smile.

I told them that the intention of the collars was to smooth all the roads to my fort, and that the flags were for all to rally under and declare themselves henceforth children of the French and not of the English; that I would receive them far otherwise when I saw them coming like clever people, that is to say with plenty of packages. I added: 'My children, I have with me a blacksmith who knows how to make axes, guns, knives, kettles and everything else; but he lacks iron, and it is difficult to bring it from Montreal on account of the length of the journey. Is there no one amongst you who has some knowledge of iron? The colour of it does not matter; iron of any colour would be good to work.'

After a long deliberation amongst themselves the interpreter rose, which he had not done at other councils, and

nom de Tous par faire bien des remerciments et adjoutâ que plusieurs d'entre Eux et Luy même connoissoit plusieurs mines de fer de differentes couleurs, qu'il les voyoit tous les ans Et qu'jl y en avoit une à cinq Journées de nôtre fort sur une hauteur ou le fer êtoit pur, en montrant ma pêle à feu, disant que cette mine sonnoit encore plus clair fort difficile à casser, le dessus noir de poudre, et le dedans blanc, une autre plus loin dont les morceaux sont fort gros, et dont jls font eux-mêmes des brasselets, une autre prés d'une grande riviere au couchant, dont la Terre est Jaulne dure par grains et feüilles luisantes de la couleur du soleil, qu'jl passe un ruisseau dans le milieu de ce fer jaulne qui laisse

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commenced in the name of all by offering many thanks, then adding that many among them, himself included, knew of several iron mines with ore of different colours; that he saw them every year, and that there was one five days' journey from our fort on a height where the iron was pure. Holding up my fire shovel, he said that the iron of that mine gave a still clearer sound, that it was very difficult to break, the outside dark like powder and the inside white; there was another further away, the pieces of which were very large, and of which they themselves made bracelets; another near to a great river towards the west, the ore of which is yellow, hard, in grains and in flakes sparkling like the sun[1]; that a stream passes through the middle of this yellow iron and deposits a sand of the same colour[2]; that there is no

[1] Marginal note in original MS.: 'Might not this be the metal which the chemists have been searching for so long without success, or that metal which is the lodestone of the human heart?'

[2] Ironstone nodules, and other forms of iron ores, have been found on the north side of Riding Mountain, in the banks of the Assiniboine Valley, in the Dirt Hills, on the banks of Whitemud river, and in other localities in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, but never in large quantities. Extensive iron deposits exist in Ontario and Minnesota, but these are rather east than west of the site of fort St. Charles. The yellow ore was no doubt iron pyrites, or 'fool's gold,' common in the cretaceous shales. The description

un sable de la même couleur dans le fonds. * Ne seroit-ce pas la le metal que les Chimistes cherchent depuis si longtems sans pouvoir le trouver, ou ce metal qui est L'aimant du Cœur de L'homme* qu'il n'y a point d'herbes autour de toutes ces mines et qu'jl semble que le soleil à tout brûle ; Jl dit encore que sur le bord de la même rivière, au pied d'une coste de 4 ou 5 cent pas en quarré, Jl sort continuellement de la fumée et quelquefois du feu, ce qui leur donne occasion à plusieurs fables, entr'autres que le françois est dedans, qui y fait des fusils, haches, couteaux, &ª. Jl dit qu'jl y avoit d'autres endroits dans les prairies couvertes comme des balles de fer noires par dessus et couleur de metal de cloche en dedans, rondes et de différente grosseur et des

* En marge.

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grass around any of these mines, and that it seems as if the sun had burnt everything up.

He said further, that on the bank of the same river at the foot of a hill four or five hundred yards square smoke is continually escaping and sometimes fire,[1] which gives rise to many fables, amongst others that there is a Frenchman inside making guns, axes, knives, etc. He said that there were other places in the prairies covered as with balls of iron, black on the outside and the colour of clock metal inside, round and of various sizes,[2]

that follows might apply to a place on Frenchman's river—now Whitemud river—just south of Wood Mountain, in southern Saskatchewan. The former name is suggestive.

[1] Doubtless a bed of lignite on fire. Deposits have been found at several places along the International boundary, such as the Souris and Wood Mountain coalfields.

[2] The late Dr. D. B. Dowling, of the Canadian Geological Survey, who was thoroughly familiar with the geology of this part of the country, wrote that these balls of iron ' are doubtless nodules of iron pyrites, but there are also associated with the coal-bearing rocks ironstone nodules which give from 20 to 30 per cent. metallic iron when smelted, and in some places a small amount of iron could be produced, but would not pay.'

pierres fort pezantes dont jls se servent pour allumer du feu. Enfin je leur recommanday d'aporter le printems suivant de toutes ces mines à mon fort, mais ils me repondirent qu'jls ne pouroient venir que L'hiver suivant, parce qu'jls partoient dés le printems pour aller chez les achipoüanes ou Caserniers afin de traitter des bleds avec Eux, comme ils leur avoient promis l'année derniere ce qui me donna occasion de leur faire les questions suivantes.

Ie leur demanday ce qu'jls pensoient de cette Nation, et si c'êtoit des sauvages comme Eux, ils me repondirent qu'jls les prenoient pour des françois, que leurs forts et leurs maisons êtoient à peu près comme les Nôtres, excepté

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and very heavy stones which they use for lighting fire.[1]

Finally I requested them to bring specimens to my fort next spring from all these mines; but they replied that they could not come till the winter following, because they were leaving as soon as spring opened to go to the Ouachipouennes or Caserniers[2] to buy corn, as they had promised to do last year.

This caused me to ask them the following questions: I asked them what they thought of that tribe and whether they were savages like themselves. They replied that they took them for French; their forts and houses were much

[1] The 'very heavy stones' were no doubt clay ironstones. 'The clay ironstones,' says Dr. Dowling, 'are the heaviest stones found on the plains.' He was at first inclined to think it problematical if they could be used for making fire, but as the result of some experiments found that iron pyrites and clay ironstones would solve the problem. 'Iron or copper pyrites is easier to get sparks from with flint than is steel; the Indians always had flint for arrowheads, and even if these Indians had none, the clay ironstones would be hard enough to strike fire from the nodules of iron pyrites that are common in the shales.'

[2] Mandan. The description by the Assiniboin of the Mandan and their habits and customs may be compared with La Vérendrye's own account of the same tribe, when he visits them in 1738. It seems preferable to reserve any comments for the explorer's first-hand narrative.

la couverture qui est platte avec de la terre et de la pierre par dessus, leurs forts de pieux et bien doublés avec deux bastions aux deux angles opposés, leurs maisons sont grandes et joignant la palissade, ensorte qu'on peut faire le tour du fort pardessus les maisons qui ont des caves, c'est la ou ils conservent les bleds d'inde dans de grands paniers d'ozier, ils n'abandonnent jamais leur fort, ils travaillent tous à la terre hommes et femmes à l'exception des chefs qui se font servir ; ces Caserniers sont de la plus haute taille, bien proportionnés, blancs, marchants les pieds en dehors, leurs cheveux sont blonds, chatins et rouges, peu les ont bien noirs, Jls ont de la barbe qu'jls coupent ou arrachent Et quelques uns la laissent croître ; ils sont caressans et affables aux Etrangers qui viennent les voir, se tenants cependant toujours sur leurs gardes, Jls ne vont point chez les Nations voisines, ils sont habillés de Cuir ou de peaux passés bien travaillés et de

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like ours, except that the roofs are flat with earth and stone over them ; their forts are made of double rows of stakes with two bastions at opposite corners ; their houses are large and adjoin the palisade so that you can make a tour of the fort on the tops of the houses, the latter having cellars where they keep their Indian corn in large wicker-work baskets. They never leave their fort ; all alike, men and women, work in the fields, the chiefs only excepted, and these have men to serve them.

These Caserniers [barrack dwellers] are of very tall stature, well-proportioned, white, and walk with their toes turned out. Their hair is light in colour, chestnut and red ; a few have black hair. They have beards which they cut or pull out, some, however, allowing them to grow. They are engaging and affable with strangers who come to see them, but nevertheless are always on their guard. They do not visit the neighbouring tribes. They are clothed in leather or in dressed skins skilfully worked and of different colours. They have a

differentes couleurs ; Jls ont une Espece de Camisolle, des Culottes et bas de la même matière, il semble que le soulier tient avec les Bas, les femmes sont en habits longs, c'est une Espece de Tunique qui vâ jusqu'à la cheville du pied avec une Ceinture qui porte un Tablier, le Tout de peau bien travaillée, elles sont coiffées en cheveux Tressés et roulés sur la Tête, Cette Nation est fort laborieuse, Elle sême quantité de bled, fêves, pois, avoine et autres grains q^{ls} commercent avec les sauvages voisins qui viennent les chercher chez Eux, les femmes ne travaillent pas tant que nos sauvagesses, mais elles sont chargées du menage qu'Elles tiennent propre et aux ouvrages pressans elles aident et travaillent aux Champs.

Les Achipoüanes elevent plusieurs sortes d'animaux domestiques comme Chevaux et chevres, Jls ont des volailles concistants en poules-d'inde, poules communes, oijes, Canars, et autres que les sauvages ne connoissent pas ; ils vivent

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kind of jacket with breeches and stockings of the same material ; the shoes seem to be of one piece with the stockings. The women are dressed in long gowns, a kind of tunic which goes down to the ankles, with a girdle that carries an apron, the whole of leather finely worked. They wear their hair in tresses coiled on the head.

This tribe is very industrious. They sow quantities of corn, beans, peas, oats, and other grains, which they trade with the neighbouring savages, who come to their settlements to get them. The women do not work as hard as our Indian women, but take charge of domestic affairs and keep things neat and clean ; and when work is pressing they render help in the fields.

The Ouachipouennes raise several kinds of domestic animals such as horses and goats. They have domestic fowls including turkeys, hens, geese, ducks, and others with which our savages are not acquainted. Their ordinary food is Indian

communement de bled d'inde à peu aprés comme nos voyageurs, ils mangent quantité de viandes, comme du Boëuf, de l'orignal, du cerf &ª. qu'jls prennent dans de grandes fosses qui sont couvertes de feüilles et de bascules, Jls font ordinairement leur chasse à cheval et partent par detachements.

I'AY oublié de dire que leurs plus petits forts sont ordinairement quarrés et ont cinq ou six arpents de chaque face, qu'jls sont entourrés d'un bon fossé, qu'jls ont double porte, qu'il y à une grande place au milieu sur laquelle toutes les maisons ont vüe, Et comme tous leurs forts sont sur les bords d'une riviere, il y a un sousterrain qui vâ du milieu de la place au bord de l'eaü, en sorte qu'ils peuvent y aller, même s'embarquer sans être vûs ; leurs armes offensives et deffensives sont l'arc, la fleche, et le bouclier, la hache et le dard qui est une espece de Lance.

LA maison du Chef est tres grande et plus haute que les autres, Elle occupe la face entiere qui est vis-à-vis la porte,

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corn, as it is to a great extent with our own voyageurs ; they eat a quantity of such meats as beef, moose, deer, etc., which they trap in great pits covered with twigs and leaves. They hunt usually on horseback and start off in detachments.

I have forgotten to say that their smallest forts are ordinarily square, and measure five or six arpents on every side ; that they are surrounded by a good ditch and have a double gate ; that there is a large space in the middle on which all the houses look ; and, as all their forts are on the banks of a river, there is a subterranean passage from the middle of the place to the edge of the water, so that they can get there and even embark without being seen. Their weapons, offensive and defensive, are bow and arrow, buckler, axe, and dart, which is a kind of lance.

The house of the chief is very large and higher than the others. It occupies the whole side opposite the gate : his

son logement et de ses Domestiques ou esclaves est à un bout le milieu est pour assembler le public, Et pour recevoir les etrangers, à l'autre bout est le logement de ses femmes. Cette maison à trois principales portes. Il y à un May planté devant celle du chef qui à une giroüette au bout, aux deux bouts de ladite maison et au dessus sont deux Têtes de boëuf ornés de petits ouvrages, (qui sont apparemment les Armoiries de la Nation).

Cette Nation n'a qu'un grand Chef, et Elle à un grand nombre de forts tous situés sur les deux bords d'un grand fleuve qui descend au Couchant, les Assenipoils qui m'ont fait ce recit, n'en connoissent que Neuf eloîgnés les uns des autres d'environ une Lieüe, ou moins, mais jls ont oüy dire qu'jl y en à un grand nombre au dessus, et au-dessous de Celuy ou reside le grand Chef, chaque fort á bien un Chef, mais il depend du premier, et lorsqu'jl arrive quelqu'allarme, jls s'avertissent d'un bord à L'autre avec une Espece de Trompe,

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quarters and those of his domestics or slaves are at one end ; the middle is for public assemblies and the reception of strangers, while the other end is assigned to his wives. This house has three principal doors. There is a pole planted before that of the chief which has a weathervane on the top. At the two ends of the house and raised above it are two ox-heads with ornamental carvings (apparently the coat of arms of the tribe).

This tribe has only one great chief, and it has a large number of forts all situated on opposite banks of a great river which flows west. The Assiniboin who gave me this information only know of nine, separated from one another a league or less, but they have heard that there are a great many both above and below the one in which the principal chief resides. Each fort has its own chief, but all are subject to the first. When there is an alarm they warn one another from bank to bank by means of a kind of trumpet, so that

de maniere qu'en peu d'heures toute la Nation est sur le qui vive, apparemment qu'jls ont encore d'autres signaux, leurs Canots sont petits, faits de peaux en forme de batteaux ronds par les bouts menés par un seul homme, qui à un aviron à deux pêles, ou deux petites rames. Ce fleuve à 18. ou 20 arpents de large tres profond et bien poissonneux bon courant, Ces sauvages n'y connoissent ni sauts, ni rapides, Jl arrose un grand Païs sans montagnes partie decouvert et en prairies, et partie en bois de haute futaye, chesnes et autres bons bois comme en Canada. les mêmes jnsectes sont sur ses bords comme en Canada, mais Jl y à une Espece de serpent de deux à trois pieds de long plus noir que gris qui à sur la tête deux cornes de la longueur du doigt qui marche la tête levée et droite, qui n'est pas mal faisant, à moins qu'on ne l'attaque, ou qu'on ne marche dessus, cette Nation connoist une herbe dont elle fait usage, qui empêche de recevoir aucun mal de la morsure de ce serpent, qui n'est redouté

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in a few hours the whole tribe is on the alert; apparently they have other modes of signalling.

Their canoes are small, made of skins, and in the form of *bateaux* rounded at the ends and propelled by a single man with a double-bladed paddle or else two small oars.

This river is 18 or 20 arpents wide, is very deep, abounds in fish and has a good current. The savages are not aware of any falls or rapids in it. It waters a vast mountainless country, partly bare and in prairie, and partly in wood of a high growth, oak and other good kinds of wood as in Canada.

The same insects as in Canada are found on its banks, but there is a kind of snake two or three feet long, nearer black than grey, which has on its head two horns about a finger in length, and moves with head erect and held forward; it is not harmful unless attacked or trodden on. This tribe knows and makes use of a herb that prevents any bad result

que par les Etrangers qui vont en ce païs ; mais revenons à nôtre Interprête Assenipoil, Je Luy fis encore les questions suivantes.

Entends tu la langue des Achipoüatanes, et pourrois tu m'en dire quelque mot, comme le feu, l'Eau &ª., Il me dit que non, qu'jl se servoit d'Interprête, et qu'jl n'y faisoit pas un assez long séjour pour retenir aucun mot de cette langue, que tout ce qu'jl en pouvoit dire, c'est qu'jls parlent et chantent comme le françois et qu'jl croit que ce sont des françois comme Nous.

Ie demanday à nôtre Interprête, s'ils avoient connoissance du Bas de leur Riviére ; jl repondit qu'on s'en êtoit Jnformé d'Eux, mais que personne n'avoit pû le dire, ne connoissant point d'autre Nation que la Leur qui apparemment n'est pas etenduë jusqu'à la Mer. Ie Luy demanday ensuitte de quels Outils ils se servoient pour leur usage particulier tant pour couper le Bois que pour cultiver la terre, jl repondit

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from the bite of this snake, which is only dreaded by strangers going into this country.

But let us return to our Assiniboin interpreter. I asked him further questions as follows : Do you understand the language of the Ouachipouennes, and could you tell me a few of their words like ' fire,' ' water,' etc. He said no, that he employed an interpreter and did not stay long enough to retain any words of their language ; all he could say was that they speak and sing like the French, and that he believes that they are Frenchmen like us.

I asked our interpreter if they knew anything about the lower end of that river. He replied that enquiries had been made of those people on the subject, but that no one could say anything about it ; they knew of no other tribe than their own, which apparently does not extend to the sea.

I then asked what special tools they used for cutting wood and cultivating the ground. He replied that they had no

qu'jls n'avoient point de fer de la couleur du nôtre, que les Assenipoils êtoient les seuls qui leur portoient quelques haches, et quelques couteaux, qu'ils traittoient pour du bled, qu'jls les aimoient beaucoup mieux que les leurs, coupants incomparablement mieux ; les haches qu'jls ont et qu'jls font eux mêmes sont jaulnes, *ne seroit-ce pas la des haches semblables à celles que les Espagnols donnèrent dans le Perou quand il fût decouvert* plus dures que de la chaudiere, Jls ont des couteaux de même matiere dont les manches sont de corne de cerf tres bien travaillés, leurs Lances, dards de flêche &ª, sont de la même façon et du même metal. Ils se servent pour chaudieres de pots de grais ou de Terre ouvragés en dehors en compartimens et fleurs, ayants une Espece de Vernis en dedans, leur Vaisselle est de même, Jls en ont aussi d'ozier proprement travaillé.

I'ay encore demandé s'jls avoient connoissance des

* En marge.

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iron of the colour of ours, that the Assiniboin were the only ones who brought them a few axes and knives which they exchanged for corn ; and that they liked them much better than they did their own, as they cut incomparably better. The axes they have, and which they make themselves, are yellow, harder than copper.[1]

They have knives of the same material, with staghorn handles very well fashioned. Their lances, arrowheads, etc., are of similar manufacture and of the same metal. For kettles they use pots of sandstone or earthen vessels worked on the outside in compartments and with flowers, and with a kind of lacquer on the inside. Their household utensils are similar ; they have also some of wicker work very neatly made.

I enquired further whether those people knew anything

[1] Marginal note on original MS. : ' Would not these be axes similar to those which the Spaniards gave in Peru when it was discovered ? '

françois, Jl fût repondû par trois assenipoils, jl y à plus d'un an que nous en avions reçû la parolle que tu nous avois envoyé de la part de Nôtre Pere, Elle nous avoit fait tant de plaisir que nous la disions à Tous Ceux que nous rencontrions. Il n'y à que quatre Lunes que nous sommes partis de chez les Achipoüatanes, nous ne manquâmes pas de leur parler du françois et de la parolle que nous avions reçû de sa part, Jls en furent si charmés que le grand chef nous dit, Vous allez voir le françois, je vous charge de dire au Chef de ma part que j'aurois bien du plaisir de le voir ou quelqu'un des siens pour faire amitié avec Luy, S'il y vient Luy même, ou s'jl veut m'envoyer quelqu'un des siens, je le prie de me faire avertir auparavant, affin que je puisse envoyer audevant de Luy pour le recevoir, comme il le merite. Avant de finir je leur dis qu'on ne pouvoit aller chez Eux que dans un an, parce que La pluspart de mes gens descendoient à Montreal

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of the French. Three Assiniboin made reply: "It is over a year since we got the message which you sent on behalf of our Father. It gave us so much pleasure that we mentioned it to every one we met. It was only four moons ago that we left the settlements of the Ouachipouennes, and we did not fail to speak to them of the Frenchman and of the word we had received in his name. They were so pleased that the great chief said to us: 'You are going to see the French. I request you to tell the chief from me that it would give me great pleasure to see him or any of his people, in order that we may establish a friendship with him. If he comes himself, or if he sends me one of his men, I beg him to let me know beforehand in order that I may send to meet him as he deserves.'"

Before concluding the interview I told them that it would be impossible for us to go and visit these people in less than a year's time, because most of my men were going down to

pour aller chercher de nouvelles marchandises pour fournir aux besoins de tous les sauvages de ce canton, dont J'ay pitié, et sur tout dans le dessein de voir Nôtre Pere pour Luy faire sçavoir tout ce qui se passe ici affin qu'jl vous envoye une nouvelle parolle comme à ses Enfants, et qu'jl ordonne ce qu'il jugera convenable.

Apres que les assenipoils eurent demeurés sept jours pendant lesquels j'eus plusieurs entretiens publics et particuliers avec Eux, Je les fis venir dans ma chambre en presence des françois, Je leur fis donner à Tous de la poudre, des balles, des pierres à fusil, Couteaux, alaisnes, Tabac pour leur aô8-à-pout (c'est à dire pour leur provision de Voyage,) Je leur dis, Mes Enfants, prenez courage, retenez bien la parolle de Nôtre Pere le grand Chef, arborez vos pavillons en arrivant dans Vos Villages, êtendez vos colliers sur les nattes pour les faire voir à tout le monde, faites recit de la maniere honorable dont je vous ay reçû en son Nom et des

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Montreal to get a new supply of goods to provide for the needs of all the savages of this district, for whom I feel pity, and particularly in order to see our Father and let him know all that is going on here, so that he may send a new word as to his children, and give such directions as he may consider suitable.

After the Assiniboin had stayed seven days, during which time I had several conversations with them publicly and privately, I got them to come into my room in presence of the French, when I distributed to them all powder, ball, gun-flints, knives, awls and tobacco for their aô8-à-pout (that is to say as an outfit for their journey). I said to them : 'My children, take courage, keep well in mind the word of our Father, the great chief, fly your flags when you arrive in your villages, spread out your collars on the mats so that every one may see them, speak of the honourable manner in which I have received you in his name and of the presents

presens qu'jl vous à envoye.—Revenez une autre année, comme vous me l'avez promis, Vous aurez de nouvelles parolles de nôtre Pere ; Je demande que vous deliberiez entre vous, pour me donner l'année prochaine deux chefs de vôtre Nation ou plus si vous le Jugez à propos pour aller voir nôtre Pere, affin qu'a leur retour ils puissent vous raconter la maniere avec laquelle Jls seront reçus, Et ce que c'est que le françois et sa puissance, Jls me dirent qu'à leur retour de leur païs la deliberation seroit faite, et les hommes preparés pour le Voyage, à condition qu'il y auroit deux cris pour le méme Voyage conduits par un de mes Enfants qui parle leur langue, la proposition fût acceptée et je les congediay, Jls firent de Longues harangues selon leur coutume pour remerciment, et pousserent de grands cris de joye, je leur fis donner deux sacs de bled qui fût distribué par egale portion à un chacun. Ils partirent le 5 Ianvier à midy tres contens et satisfaits de la reception et des presens que je leur avois

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he has sent you. Come next year as you have promised ; you will then have new words from our Father. I want you to consider among yourselves the question of giving me next year two of your chiefs, or more if you think it advisable, to go and see our Father, in order that on their return they may relate to you the manner in which they shall have been received, and what the Frenchman is and the extent of his power.' They told me that, on their return home, the matter would be considered and the men prepared for the journey, on condition that two Cree should be taken along at the same time under the leadership of one of my sons who speaks their language. The proposition was accepted and I dismissed them. They made long harangues, according to their custom, expressive of their gratitude, and uttered shouts of joy. I gave them two bags of corn which was distributed in equal portions to all. They left on the 5th of January at noon highly pleased and satisfied with their

fait, aprés leur traitte faite à bonne composition suivant l'ordre que j'en avois donné pour les empêcher d'aller chez les Anglois et les engager par la à revenir.

23. Cabannes de Cristinaux arrivés ici avant les assenipoils, y ont resté Jusqu'au printems à la priere des cris et Monsonis, j'arrêtay un des Chefs Cris qui êtoit venû avec les assenipoils, homme de grand credit et aimé de toute la Nation, nommé Lamarthe blanche, agé de plus de 100 ans d'un Jugement tres sain et encore Vigoureux, affin d'être appuyé de Luy et de travailler plus sûrement aux bonnes affaires, Je Luy fis en particulier des presens, quoiqu'jl en eût desjà reçû avec les autres : J'habillay ses femmes ou plutôt ses Esclaves au nombre de cinq et trois de ses Enfants, Je les nourris jusques au moïs de May et fournis du tabac pour toute la cabane.

Le 12 Ianvier Jl arrivâ sur le soir trois françois et 4

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reception and the presents I had given them after their trading was done, in which, by my orders, liberal rates of exchange were allowed them, so as to prevent their going to the English and to induce them to come back.

Twenty-three Cree families who came here before the Assiniboin remained until the spring. At the request of the Cree and the Monsoni I detained one of the Cree chiefs who had come with the Assiniboin, a man of great reputation and beloved of the entire tribe, named La Marteblanche, over 100 years old, of very sound judgment and still vigorous, so that I might have his support and a greater certainty of success in my efforts to put things on a good footing. I made presents to him specially, although he had already received some with the rest. I clothed his wives, or rather his slaves, to the number of five, and three of his children. I fed them up to the month of May and furnished tobacco for the whole household.

On the 12th of January there arrived towards evening

sauvages qui descendoient du fort S^{t}. Pierre eloigné de 60 Lieües, jls m'apporterent une lettre d'Urtebise, qui me disoit que le Party de 300 hommes se disposoit d'aller sur le Scioux, au lieu du Saulteur, le chef Monsoni Envoyé de la nation, me dit que ceux qui avoient plus d'esprit parmi Eux ne vouloient rien entreprendre sans mon conseil, cependant ils craignoient le depart des 300 hommes, y estants fortement sollicités par de vieilles femmes qui pleuroient jour et nuit, regrettants la mort de leurs parents et les sollicitants d'aller en guerre pour les vanger.

Le 13 au matin arriverent encore 12 Monsonis et Cris pour me prier d'envoyer incessamment mon fils au fort S^{t}. Pierre, si je ne pouvois pas moy même y aller, car jl êtoit tems, Jls appuyerent leur parolle par un Collier de rassade et deux robbes de 12 castors chaque pour me servir d'apichimon (c'est à dire de Lit et de couverture) dans le Voyage, ils m'offrirent aussy des souliers et des raquettes,

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three Frenchmen and four savages who had come down from fort St. Pierre, sixty leagues distant. They brought me a letter from Urtebise telling me that the party of 300 men were preparing to march against the Sioux instead of the Saulteur. The Monsoni chief sent from his nation said that the more intelligent among them did not want to undertake anything without my advice, still they feared the departure of the 300 men who were strongly urged thereto by some old women who were weeping day and night mourning over the death of their relatives and beseeching them to go to war to avenge them.

On the morning of the 13th twelve more Monsoni and Cree arrived, begging me to send my son at once to fort St. Pierre if I could not go myself, as it was high time. They supported their request by a collar of beads and two robes of twelve beavers each, to serve me as an apichimon (that is to say as bed and covering) on the journey; they offered me also shoes and snowshoes.

Je repondis par un present de poudre, balles et tabac et leur dis que je partirois dans deux jours, Je fis appeller les Cris qui êtoient jcy pour leur dire le sujet du Voyage que j'entreprenois dans la saison la plus rude pour travailler aux bonnes affaires, ils me remercierent et m'offrirent Ceux d'entre Eux que je voudrois pour m'accompagner, Jls me dirent de parler ferme aux Monsonis, de leur rappeller ce qui s'êtoit passé le printems d[erni]er à leur sujet, qu'jls appuyeroient ma parolle.

Le 16 Ianvier je partis du fort S^{t}. Charles à sept heures du matin avec mon aisné, Cinq françois, un chef Cris, un Monsonis, et 14 tant cris que Monsonis, 4 femmes dont deux menoient mon petit Equipage ; en sept jours de marche par un tres grand froid je me rendis aux premieres cabannes ou une partié des guerriers s'êtoit assemblée, qui me recûrent bien et me prierent de leur accorder quelque séjour pour me delasser de la fatigue du voyage, J'y restay un jour et

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I replied by a present of powder, ball, and tobacco, and said that I would leave in two days. I summoned the Cree who were here to tell them the object of the journey I was undertaking in the severest season of the year, which was to work for a good understanding. They thanked me and offered me any of their own men I might wish to have to accompany me. They told me to take a firm tone with the Monsoni and remind them of what had taken place last spring in relation to themselves, and said that they would back me up.

On the 16th of January I left fort St. Charles at seven o'clock in the morning with my eldest son, five Frenchmen, one Cree and one Monsoni chief, fourteen of both Cree and Monsoni, and four women, two of whom carried my small outfit ; and in seven days' march in very cold weather I arrived at the first lodges where a portion of the warriors was assembled, who received me well and begged me to stay with them for a while in order to get over the fatigue

dans le Conseil je donnay un Collier et six brasses de tabac au chef qui avoit formé le party, Luy disant de venir au fort S^t^. Pierre avec les Guerriers sans luy faire connoître ma pensée, sur le soir trois françois arriverent, j'en detachay deux et deux sauvages pour aller porter de mes Nouvelles et dire au chef de la . . . d'envoyer avertir les 20 cabannes de Monsonis qui sont au portage de la Chaudiere eloigné de 15 lieües, j'envoyay deux sauvages avertir dix cabannes sur la droite de mon Chemin, Je fixay le Conseil au cinquieme Jour affin que tout le monde pût s'y trouver, Je marchay encore deux jours jusqu'au fort S^t^. Pierre.

Le 29 à dix heures du matin le Conseil s'assemblâ dans la maison d'urtebise, Je presentay deux Colliers 12 brasses

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of my journey. I stayed a day, and in the council that was held I gave a collar and six fathoms of tobacco to the chief who had formed the party, telling him to come to fort St. Pierre with the warriors without letting him know my intention.

Towards evening three Frenchmen arrived. I detached two of them and two savages to go and give news of me and say to the chief of the [district] [1] to send and notify the 20 lodges of Monsoni at the Chaudière portage [2] 15 leagues distant. I sent two savages to notify ten lodges to the right of my road. I fixed the council for the fifth day thereafter in order that everybody might be present; then I walked on for two days more as far as fort St. Pierre.

On the 29th at ten in the forenoon the council assembled in the house of Urtebise. I presented two collars, twelve

[1] Word omitted in the French original.

[2] The waterfall which this portage overcame is still known as Chaudière falls, though it no longer exists in its natural state. It is between the towns of Fort Frances, Ont., and International Falls, Minn. The waterfall is now harnessed for the development of power. Between this point and the Lake of the Woods, Rainy river is broken by two other rapids, the Manitou and Long Sault.

de tabac blanc et noir, un cassetête de façon caché sous une robbe de Castor. J'adressay La parolle au chef de guerre, je me plaignis de ce qu'jl vouloit aller en guerre sans me consulter, Je Luy fis presenter un des deux Colliers avec six brasses de tabac, je me levay et demanday à l'assemblée si on le reconnoissoit pour chef de guerre, aprés qu'on m'eut assûré qu'il l'êtoit, Je Luy donnay un pavillon en Luy disant : Ie te lie à moy par ce pavillon, je te barre le chemin des Saulteurs et des Scioux par ce Collier et donne ce tabac pour faire fumer tes guerriers affin qu'jls entendent ma parolle, as tu donc oublié la parolle qui fût envoyée le printems dernier à nôtre Pére, Et aux Saulteurs et Scioux de la part des Cris et Monsonis ? pourquoy n'attends tu pas reponse, la paix est proposée et tu veux troubler la terre ? Veux tu frapper le Saulteur et le Scioux, tu n'as que faire de sortir du fort, en voicy, en montrant les françois, mange si tu és

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fathoms of tobacco, white and black, and one tomahawk hidden under a beaver robe. I addressed the chief of the war party, complaining that he was thinking of going to war without consulting me. I presented him with one of the two collars and six fathoms of tobacco.

Then I rose and asked the assembly whether they recognized him as war chief, and on their assuring me that they did, I handed him a flag saying : 'By this flag I bind you to myself ; by this collar I bar against you the road to the Saulteur and the Sioux ; and I give you this tobacco in order that your warriors may smoke it and understand my word. Have you then forgotten the word that was sent last spring to our Father and to the Saulteur and the Sioux from the Cree and the Monsoni ? Why don't you wait for an answer ? Peace is proposed, yet you seek to trouble the land. Do you want to strike the Saulteur and the Sioux ? You needn't leave the fort ; here are some (pointing to the Frenchmen), eat

assez hardy toy et tes guerriers, il baissoit la tête, I'ay pitié de toy, Je sçay que tu aime la guerre, en Luy presentant le second collier, Je luy dis descends ce printems au fort S^{t}. Charles avec tous tes guerriers et les françois, en voila le chemin si tu as de l'esprit tu suivras ma parolle, Je ne t'en dis pas davantage, I'adressay ensuitte la parolle au Chef Cris, qui m'avoit accompagné, et Luy dis de parler au nom de sa nation et de faire connoistre ses sentiments à toute l'assemblée, jl se levâ, presentâ une brasse de tabac et un Collier au même Chef qui tenoit toujours sa tête baissee, et adressant la parolle à tous, Jl dit Mes freres, pensez vous à ce que vous allez faire ? Les Saulteurs et Scioux sont nos alliés, et Enfants du même Pere ? pourquoy un tel en parlant au Chef de guerre, as tu le Coëur si mauvais, que de vouloir tuer tes parents, songe aux parolles que nous avons envoyé à nôtre Pere et ne nous fais pas mentir. Nous sommes des

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if you are bold enough, you and your warriors. (He hung his head.) I pity you ; I know you love war.'

In presenting him with the second collar I said : 'Come down in the spring to fort St. Charles with all your warriors ;—there is the road, and if you are wise you will follow my advice. I have nothing more to say to you.'

I then addressed the Cree chief who had accompanied me and told him to speak in the name of his tribe and make his sentiments known to the whole assembly.

He rose, presented a fathom of tobacco and a collar to the same chief, who still kept his head down, and addressing all present said : 'My brothers, do you reflect on what you are about to do ? The Saulteur and Sioux are our allies and children of the same Father. How can any man (speaking to the war chief) have so bad a heart as to want to kill his own relatives ? Think of the words that we sent to our Father and do not make us liars. We are men who walk

hommes qui marchons tête levée sans craindre Personne, Je te dis au nom de nôtre nation que tu aye à ecouter la parolle de nôtre Pere qui nous donne de l'esprit, et de descendre ce printems avec tous tes Guerriers au Lac des Bois. Aprés un peu de deliberation, Le Chef se levâ et me presentâ une robbe de Castors qu'jl avoit sur Luy, me disant Voila ma parolle, Mon Pere je consens à tout ce que tu me demande, à condition neantmoins que tu ne nous empêcheras pas d'aller en guerre, que tu donneras ton fils pour être temoin de nos actions ; Je tiray le Cassetête caché sous une robbe et deux brasses de tabac noir, disant à tous Ie ne m'oppose pas que Vous alliez en guerre contre les Mascoutins Poüannes vos Ennemis, Et en Luy presentant Le Cassetête, je chantay la guerre, aprés quoy je pleuray les Morts.

Ayant appris que 20 hommes se disposoient pour aller aux Anglois, je presentay un collier au chef du village pour

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with our heads erect without fearing any one. I say in the name of our tribe that you are to listen to the word of our Father who gives us wisdom, and come down in the spring with all your warriors to the Lake of the Woods.'

After some deliberation the chief arose and presented me with a beaver robe which he was wearing, saying : 'This is my word. My Father, I agree to all you ask on condition, nevertheless, that you will not prevent us from going to war, and that you will let us have your son as a witness of our actions.'

I then drew out the hatchet that was concealed under a robe and two fathoms of black tobacco, saying to all : 'I am not opposed to your going to war against the Mascoutens Poüanes, who are your enemies.' In presenting the hatchet to him I sang the war song, after which I wept for their dead.

Having learnt that twenty men were arranging to go to the English [trading post], I presented a collar to the chief

barrer le chemin, je leur dis qu'jl falloit être tout françois, ou tout anglois, et que Ceux qui jroient n'auroient jamais de credit l'automne, que si le françois, leur portoit leurs besoins, ils devoient Luy en avoir obligation de ce qu'il leur epargnoit la peine d'aller si loin, Jls parurent convaincus, mais il sera bien difficile de les empêcher tous.

Le Chef du village fît une longue harangue pour me remercier de la peine que j'avois pris d'aller chez Eux dans une saison si rigoureuse, leur donner de l'esprit, le Chef de guerre fît la même chose, et de plus harangua ses Gens, leur faisant voir piece par piece ce que j'avois pris la peine de luy apporter, la guerre fut remise au printems tous d'une voix, et le Chef reprenant la parolle me dit, Mon Pere, sois tranquile et pars content, Nous garderons ta parolle ; je restay encore sept jours pour me remettre de la fatigue du voyage, ayant

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of the village in order to bar the road. I said to them that they had to be either entirely French or entirely English, and that those who went to the English would have no credit in the autumn ; that if the French brought them the things they needed they ought to have some sense of obligation for being spared the trouble of going so far to get them. They seemed convinced, but it will be very difficult to keep some of them from going off.

The chief of the village made a long harangue to thank me for the trouble I had taken in going to them at so severe a season of the year to give them instruction. The war chief did the same thing, and also harangued his own people, showing them piece by piece the things I had taken the trouble to bring him. The war was put off till the spring by common accord, and the chief, resuming his discourse, said to me : ' My Father, be at ease in your mind and depart content ; we will keep your word.' I stayed seven days longer to get over the fatigue of my journey, my old wounds

ressenti mes anciennes blessures qui penserent m'arrêter en chemin, Je partis du fort S^{t}. Pierre le Cinquieme fevrier et arrivay au fort S^{t}. Charles le 14 toujours par un froid des plus rudes.

Le 15 fevrier quoique bien fatigué de mon voyage, J'assemblay dans ma chambre les Chefs Cris qui êtoient auprés du fort, je leur fis part de la bonne Jssue de mon voyage, ce qui me parût leur faire plaisir.

Le même Jour 4 Cris de la part d'un des Chefs du Lac Ouÿnipigon arriverent ici, et me presenterent un Esclave avec un Collier, me demandants en grace d'envoyer des françois s'etablir sur leurs terres, sur le Bord du grand Lac Oüynipigon ; je donnay pour l'esclave un capot, chemise, mitasse, et Brayer, couteau, et alaisne, poudre et Balles. Et pour le Collier un pavillon, six brasses de tabac, et un collier de la même façon par lequel je Luy accorday sa demande, Je le priay de remercier le Chef de l'Esclave que

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beginning again to pain me and threatening to stop me on the road. I left fort St. Pierre on the 5th of February and arrived at fort St. Charles on the 14th, the weather being still intensely cold.

On the 15th of February, although greatly fatigued by my journey, I got together in my room the Cree chiefs who were near the fort and told them of the happy result of my journey, which seemed to give them pleasure.

The same day four Cree sent by one of the Lake Winnipeg chiefs arrived here and presented me with a slave and a collar, asking me as a favour to send some Frenchmen to establish themselves on their lands on the shore of the great Lake Winnipeg. I gave, in return for the slave, a cloak, a shirt, leggings and breeches, a knife and awl, powder and ball ; and for the collar a flag, six fathoms of tobacco, and a collar of the same make, by which I granted his request. I begged him to thank the chief for the slave I had received

j'avois reçu de sa part et de m'envoyer la Lune suivante des guides pour conducteurs des françois qui jroient visiter le Lieu le plus commode pour y elever un fort, ils partirent le Lendemain fort satisfaits de la reception que je leur avois faite.

Le 7 Mars arriverent deux Guides de la part du Chef, chargés de viande seche d'Orignal et d'un Esclave, me sommant de tenir ma parolle, Je payay l'esclave comme cy dessus, et ordonnay à deux françois de bonne volonté, de se disposer à partir le 9e Mars, que J'allois travailler à l'instruction que je leur donnerois qui leur apprendroit ce qu'jls devoient faire dans ce voyage tant pour parler aux sauvages, que pour visiter les Lieux et choisir une place commode pour le fort, leur recommandant de prendre connoissance des mines [a]et bois différents des nôtres[a] qu'il pouroit y avoir en ces quartiers.

Le 7 May, sept françois qui ont hiverné au fort St.

[a] Cinq mots ajoutés en marge.

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from him, and to send me next moon guides to conduct the Frenchmen to inspect the place where it would be most convenient to erect the fort. They left the next day highly satisfied with the reception I had given them.

On the 7th of March there arrived two guides sent by the chief laden with dry moose meat and bringing a slave, calling upon me to keep my word. I paid for the slave as on the previous occasion, and instructed two well-disposed Frenchmen to prepare to leave on the 9th of March, and meantime I would draw up rules for their guidance on the journey, both as to talking to the savages and as to visiting the different spots and choosing a convenient one for the fort, recommending them also to take note of any mines which there might be in those localities or any kinds of wood different from ours.

On the 7th of May seven Frenchmen who wintered at

Pierre sont arrivés jci avec près de 400 Monsonis armés en guerre qu'ils chanterent dès le même soir, Je leur parlay le lendemain en Conseil, le chef de guerre me presentâ quatre robbes de castors et un collier, mais Jl commencâ par haranguer toute l'assemblée, repetant tout ce qui avoit été dit de part et d'autre au fort S^t^. Pierre cet hiver avant de m'adresser la parolle, ensuitte Jl m'a dit : Mon Pere, nous sommes venus te trouver, esperant que tu auras pitié de nous, puisque nous obéissons à ta parolle. Nous voila rendus chez Toy, sur qui frapperons nous, et avant ma reponse jl continuâ, si tu veux je diray la pensée de nos Guerriers, je suis Chef, jl est vray, mais je ne suis pas toujours maître de leur volonté, si tu veux nous accorder ton fils pour venir avec nous, nous Jrons droit où tu nous as dis [a] d'aller, mais si tu nous refuse, je ne sçaurois repondre du Coup qui vâ se faire, Je ne doute pas que tu ne sçache la pensée de nos

[a] *Sic.*

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fort St. Pierre arrived here with nearly 400 Monsoni armed for war, who began singing the war song the same evening. I talked to them the next day in council. The war chief presented me with four beaver robes and a collar, but he commenced by haranguing the assembly, repeating all that had been said on both sides at fort St. Pierre this winter before addressing me at all. Afterwards he said to me : 'My Father, we have come to see you, hoping that you will have pity on us because we obey your word. Here we are at your post ; at whom are we to strike ? '

Without waiting for me to reply he continued : 'If you wish I will tell you the thought of our warriors. I am chief, it is true, but I am not always master of their will. If you are willing to let us have your son to come with us, we will go straight wherever you tell us ; but if you refuse I cannot answer for where the blow may fall. I have no doubt you know the thought of our kindred, the Cree, but I do not

Parents les cris, mais je ne te cache pas, mon Pere, qu'jl y à plusieurs Chefs parmi nous qui ont le Coëur mal fait contre le Scioux, et le Saulteur, tu sçais qu'jl en est venû sur nos terres jusqu'aux Neiges, s'ils n'ont tué personne, c'est qu'on les à decouvert, pense à ce que tu as à faire.

I'ETOIS agité Jl faut l'avoüer, de différentes pensées qui me tourmentoient cruellement, mais je faisois le brave et ne m'en vantois pas, d'un côté comment mettre mon fils aisné entre les mains des Barbares que je ne connois pas et dont à peine sçay je le nom, pour aller en guerre contre d'autres barbares dont je ne Connois ni le nom ni les forces. Qui sçait si mon fils en reviendra, et s'jl ne tombera pas entre les mains des Mascoutins Poänes ou Poüannes Ennemis Jurés des Cris et Monsonis qui me le demandent, d'un autre côté si je leur refuse, je crains avec fondement qu'jls n'attribuent mon refus à la peur, qu'jls ne prennent les

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hide the fact from you, my Father, that there are several chiefs among us whose hearts are bitter against the Sioux and the Saulteur. You know that some of them came upon our lands until the snow fell. If they did not kill anyone it was because they were discovered. Decide what you are going to do.'

I was agitated, I must confess, and cruelly tormented by conflicting thoughts, but put on a brave front and did not boast of it. On the one hand, how was I to entrust my eldest son to barbarians whom I did not know, and whose name even I scarcely knew, to go and fight against other barbarians of whose name and of whose strength I knew nothing? Who could tell whether my son would ever return, whether he would not fall into the hands of the Mascoutens Poänes or Poüannes, the sworn foes of the Cree and the Monsoni who were asking for him?

On the other hand, were I to refuse him to them, there was much reason to fear that they would attribute it to fear and

françois pour des lâches, et qu'jls ne secoüent le joug françois qui à la verité fait leur bonheur, mais qu'on ne fait que leur presenter et qu'ils ne connoissent pas, ils paroissent l'aimer, mais Jls ne l'ont pas entierement reçûs, dans cet embarras je consultay tous les françois de mon Poste les plus eclairés et les plus capables de donner conseil ; Jls furent tous d'avis, et me presserent même d'accorder aux sauvages la demande qu'jls me faisoient, ils dirent que ce n'êtoit pas le premier françois qui eût êté en guerre avec des sauvages, Et que n'êtant pas Chef du party, cela ne tiroit à aucune consequence par rapport à la Nation contre laquelle l'Orage se formoit, d'ailleurs Mon fils souhaittoit avec passion d'y aller, plusieurs françois s'offroient de l'accompagner, mais quelque plaisir que cela m'eût fait, je crûs ne devoir pas les accepter, crainte que la Chose ne tirast à consequence pour L'avenir ce qui me determinâ pour le bien de la Colonie de donner mon fils

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take the French for cowards, with the result of their shaking off the French yoke, which in reality makes for their happiness, but which has only been shown to them and which they do not effectually know : they appear to like it, yet they have not fully accepted it.

In this dilemma I consulted all the most intelligent Frenchmen of my post and those best able to give advice. They were all of opinion that I should grant the request of the savages, and even pressed me to do so. They said that my son would not be the first Frenchman who had gone with savages to war, and that not being chief of the war party that did not involve any consequences as regarded the tribe against which the war-cloud was forming : moreover, my son was passionately desirous of going. Several Frenchmen offered to accompany him, but, notwithstanding the pleasure this would have given me, I did not think it right to accept them for fear of consequences in the future.

These considerations determined me for the good of the

seul pour cette Campagne aux guerriers qui vouloient le mettre à leur Tête et en faire leur premier chef, mais pour les raisons cy dessus je m'y opposay et leur donnay seulement pour conseiller et comme temoin de leur bravoure, Luy laissant en particulier une ample instruction par ecrit de la maniere dont jl devoit se comporter pour parler dans les Conseils qui ont coutume de se tenir tous les soirs et d'en convoquer même d'extraordinaires suivant les occurrences, Je Luy donnay publiquement des avis, et cette grande affaire fut ainsi conclüe, je fis distribuer du Tabac à tout le monde, leur temoignant la joye que j'avois de les voir Tous.

Le même jour 8e May les Bourgeois du poste me prièrent de parler aux sauvages qui êtoient plus de 600 hommes, au sujet de la Traitte, ce que je fis le lendemain après avoir

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colony to give my son alone to the savages for this campaign, who wanted to place him at their head and make him their first chief. This, however, I opposed for reasons above given, and only allowed him to go as their counsellor and witness of their valour, placing in his hands privately an ample instruction in writing as to the manner in which he should comport himself in the matter of speaking in the councils which ordinarily are held every evening, and even of convoking extraordinary councils according to circumstances. I gave him directions publicly, and this great affair was then concluded. I caused tobacco to be distributed to everybody, testifying the joy I had in seeing them all.

The same day, 8th of May, the bourgeois[1] of the post begged me to speak to the savages, who numbered over 600 men, on the subject of trade, which I did the next day after

[1] In the sense of master or chief trader this term was used in the fur trade both under the French and the British *régime*. The partners of the North West Company were known as 'bourgeois.'

fait faire la distribution des presens pour la guerre, Et après toutes les parolles.

Le 9e tous les guerriers Cris et Monsonis au nombre de 660 s'assemblerent dans la Cour du fort, ou j'avois fait dresser des sieges pour les Chefs qui êtoient 14 comme autant de capitaines à la tête de leur compagnie, les Cris d'un côté et les Monsonis de l'autre, jls attendoient de jour en jour 200 autres cris qui devoient les joindre, je fis mettre dans le milieu de la place un baril de 50L de poudre, 100L de Balles, 400 pierres à fusils, battefeux, Tireboures, alaisnes, Couteaux à Boucherons à proportion et 30-brasses de Tabac. Ie fis placer mon fils à côté de Moy et adressant la parolle à Tous, je leur dis, Mes enfants voila ce que j'ay preparé pour la guerre, je vous en fais present, vous en ferez la distribution à tous excepté aux chefs à chacun desquels je fis donner deux Livres de poudre, quatre Livres de balles, deux brasses

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having made a distribution of the presents for the war and after all the talking was over.

On the 9th all the Cree and Monsoni warriors to the number of 660 assembled in the court of the fort where I had had seats prepared for the chiefs, of whom there were 14, like so many captains at the head of their companies, the Cree on one side and the Monsoni on the other. They were awaiting 200 other Cree from day to day who were to join them. I ordered to be placed in the centre of the place one 50-pound barrel of powder, 100 pounds of ball, 400 gun-flints, fire-steels, ramrods, awls, butcher knives in proportion, and 30 fathoms of tobacco.

I made my son take his place at my side, and addressing my remarks to all I said to them: 'My children, see what I have prepared for the war; I make you a present of it and you will distribute it amongst you all, except the chiefs.' To each of these I gave two pounds of powder, four pounds

de tabac, un couteau à boucheron, 2-alaisnes, 6-pierres à fusils, et un Tireboure, pour faire entendre ma parolle je parlois à mon fils, Mon fils a L'Interprête Monsonis, et le Monsonis qui parloit Cris le disoit aux Cristinaux, je leur rappellay ce qui s'êtoit passé dans les dernieres guerres, L'avantage qu'jls avoient toujours eû sur les Saulteurs et les Scioux, que je ne voyois pas sur quoy Jls vouloient fonder leur vengeance puisqu'jls êtoient et agresseurs et victorieux, Je les priay de se souvenir des parolles qui avoient êté envoyées de leur part à nôtre Pere pour la paix et d'attendre reponse, Ie suis bien aise de vous dire, Mes Enfants, que je descends à Missilimakinac et peut être à Montréal pour porter vôtre parolle à nôtre Pere, et pour aller chercher ce qui manque jcy, comme Tabac, fusils et chaudières que vous aurez pour des martes et des Loups cerviers, Et non pour du Castor que vous employerez à vos autres besoins, comme je vous l'ay

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of ball, two fathoms of tobacco, one knife, two awls, six flints, and one gun-screw.

In order that what I said might be understood, I spoke to my son, my son to the Monsoni interpreter who spoke Cree, and he repeated it to the Cree. I reminded them of what had taken place in the last wars, the advantage they had always gained over the Saulteur and the Sioux; said that I could not see on what they were now founding their desire for vengeance, seeing that they were both aggressors and victors.

I entreated them to remember the words which had been sent in their name to our Father in favour of peace, and that they should await a reply. 'I am very glad to tell you, my children,' I said, 'that I am going down to Michilimackinac and perhaps to Montreal to carry your message to our Father and to get a supply of things that we are short of here, such as tobacco, guns and kettles, which you will get in exchange for martens and lynxes, and not for beaver, which you will use for your other needs as I promised you in the winter.'

promis dans l'hiver, c'est pour les obliger à faire cette chasse qu'jls n'avoient pas coutume de faire, et occuper par la même les femmes et les Enfants de 10, ou 12-ans qui en sont tres Capables.

Comme vous avez obei à la parolle de nôtre Pere, Je vous confie mon fils aisné qui est ce que j'ay de plus cher, regardez-le comme un autre moy-même, ne faites rien sans le consulter, sa parolle sera la mienne et comme Jl n'est pas accoutumé à la fatigue, comme vous, quoiqu'jl soit aussi vigoureux, je compte que vous en aurez soin pendant le Voyage.

Les deux Chefs des deux Nations se leverent me firent de grands remerciments, haranguerent les guerriers, leur faisant sur tout remarquer la confiance que J'avois en Eux en leur confiant mon fils et les presens que Je leur avois fait, mais il s'elevâ une petite contestation qui fût bientôt terminée, Les deux Nations vouloient avoir mon fils, soit que

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My object in saying this was to oblige them to hunt those smaller animals which they are not accustomed to do, and at the same time to get the women to take it up, and also the children of from ten to twelve, who are quite capable of it.

'As you have obeyed the word of our Father,' I continued, 'I entrust to you my eldest son who is my dearest possession; consider him as another myself; do nothing without consulting him, his words will be mine; and as he is not as accustomed to fatigue as you, though he is equally vigorous, I depend on you to take care of him on the journey.'

The two chiefs of the two tribes rose, returned me profuse thanks, and harangued the warriors, calling upon them especially to remark the confidence I was showing in them in entrusting my son to them. A slight dispute arose, however, which was soon settled. Both tribes expressed a wish to have my son; either as a compliment to me or

ce fût une honnêteté pour Moy, soit que ce fût réel, chacune paroissoit avoir de l'empressement de le posseder, Le Chef Cris se levâ le premier et m'adressant la parolle me dit, Mon Pere tu sçais que ton fils est à Moy, et que je l'ay adopté, sa place est dans mon Canot, Jl y à un Escabia c'est à dire un guerrier pour le servir, et deux femmes pour porter son equipage, Mon fils le remercia, Et adressant la parolle aux Monsonis, disant Mes freres, ne soyez point peinés, je vous prie, si j'embarque avec les Cris, nous marchons Tous ensemble, Vos cabannes sont les miennes et nous ne faisons qu'un, Tous furent contens, Je donnay un cassetête au Chef Cris semblable à celuy que J'avois donné au Monsonis êtant au fort S^{t}. Pierre, Je chantay la guerre leur recommandant de bien faire leur devoir, Je leur racontay en racourcy la maniere de faire la guerre en france, ce n'est pas derriere des arbres, mais en rase Campagne, &^{a}, Je leur fis voir les blessures que j'avois reçû dans la bataille de Malplaqué, ils

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because they really desired it, each appeared eager to appropriate him. The Cree chief rose first and addressing me said : 'My Father, you know that your son belongs to me and that I have adopted him. His place is in my canoe. There is an escabia, that is to say a warrior, to serve him and there are two women to carry his outfit.'

My son thanked him, and addressing the Monsoni said : 'My brothers, do not be vexed, I beg of you, if I embark with the Cree ; we are all marching together ; your cabins are mine and we are all one.' All were then satisfied.

I gave a hatchet to the Cree chief similar to the one I had given to the Monsoni at fort St. Pierre. I sang the war chant and recommended them to do their duty well. I gave them a brief account of the manner of making war in France, where men did not fight behind trees but in open country, etc. I showed them the wounds I had received in the

resterent dans l'etonnement, Je leur fis festin aprés lequel on continuâ de chanter la guerre.

Aprés avoir parlé de la guerre Jl est juste de parler du commerce et de la Traitte, comme nos associés m'en avoient prié, avant de congédier cette grande troupe de plus de 600 hommes qui representoient les deux Nations des Monsonis et des Cristinaux, Je leur dis, Mes Enfants, faites attention et pensez serieusement au bonheur que vous avez de posseder le françois chez vous, auprés duquel vous trouverez tous vos besoins pendant le Cours de L'année ; Jl achette vos viandes, folles avoines, Ecorces, gommes, racine pour les Canots et plusieurs autres choses pendant L'Esté, qui ne vous ont de rien servis Jusqu'ici ; vous faites argent de Tout, que ne chassez vous, vous avez l'automne, l'hiver et le printems pour faire de la pelletrie, affin que les Traitteurs ne s'en retournent pas honteux, c'est à dire à vuide, ils recoivent vos robbes

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battle of Malplaquet, which astonished them. I then made them a feast, after which they continued the war chant.

After having spoken of war it is right to speak of commerce and barter, as my associates requested me to do. Before dismissing that large band of over 600 men representing the two tribes of the Monsoni and the Cree, I said to them : 'My children, I want you to think seriously of the benefit it is to you to have the Frenchman with you, at whose establishment you will find all the things you require throughout the whole year. He buys your meat, your wild oats, barks, gums, roots for canoes,[1] and a number of other things during the summer which hitherto have been of no use to you. You make money out of everything ; why don't you hunt in the autumn, winter, and spring so as to get skins so that our traders may not return disappointed, that is to say empty-handed. They receive your [beaver]

[1] *Watape*, or *watap*, roots of the pine, spruce, tamarack, etc., used to sew birchbark for canoes. *Watap* is Chippewa for the root of the tamarack.

aprés vous en être servis, qui ont êté perdües jusqu'à present, quel avantage pouvez vous desirer de plus, Je vous avertis de ne point tuer le Castor dans l'Eté, Jl ne sera point reçû des Traitteurs, vous me demandâtes Jl y a un an d'avoir pitié de vos familles, et de vous faire donner à credit l'automne pour être en êtat de chasser L'hiver. I'obtins des Traitteurs quoiqu'avec peine de vous faire donner vôtre plus necessaire pour voir si vous aviez de l'esprit et si vous sçaviez payer ; vous autres Chefs m'avez repondû pour Tous, Encouragez les autres à payer le Traitteur, affinque je ne passe pas pour menteur, la marchandise n'est pas à Moy comme vous le sçavez, Je suis cependant le maître de vous la faire donner, et si vous ne payez pas, Jl faut que ce soit Moy qui paye, si je vous fais donner vos besoins, ce n'est pas pour porter vos pelletries aux Anglois, vous y traittez comme en Ennemis, vous n'avez point de credit chez Eux ni d'entrée dans leur fort, vous ne choisissez point la marchandise que vous voulez,

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robes after you have used them, which previously were lost. What advantage can you desire more ? I warn you not to kill the beaver in summer for the traders will not take it.

You asked me a year ago to have pity on your families and to give you goods on credit in the autumn so that you might be able to hunt in the winter. With some difficulty I persuaded the traders to let you have what you needed to see if you were men of sense and if you knew how to pay. You, the chiefs, answered for all, so now urge the others to pay the trader so that I may not pass for a liar. The merchandise is not mine, as you know, though it is in my power to have it given to you ; and if you don't pay, I shall have to. And if I am supplying your needs it is not to have you carry your skins to the English. When you deal with them you have to do it as if you were their enemies : they give you no credit ; they do not allow you inside their fort ; you cannot choose the merchandise you want, but are obliged to take what they

vous êtes obligé de prendre ce qu'on vous donne par une fenêtre bon ou mauvais, ils rebutent une partié de vos pelletries qui sont perdües pour vous, aprés avoir eû bien de la peine à les porter chez Eux ; Jl est vray que vous achetez certaines choses un peu plus cheres de nos Traitteurs, mais ils prennent tout ce que vous avez, Jls ne rebutent rien, vous ne courez aucun risque, vous n'avez pas la peine de le porter loin, d'ailleurs vous avez la liberté de choisir ce que vous voulez, hommes, femmes et Enfants, vous entrez dans nos Maisons et dans nôtre fort quand Jl vous plaist, vous y êtes toujours bien recûs, nos marchandises sont meilleures, comme vous l'avoüez, que celles des Anglois, ce seroit donc contre la raison et contre vôtre Jnteret d'y aller, Je suis bien aise de vous avertir qu'jl n'y aura jamais de credit pour Ceux qui y iront à l'avenir ; Prenez donc courage pour bien chasser afin que j'aye le plaisir de voir vos familles bien

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give you through a window, good or bad ; they reject some of your skins, which become a dead loss to you after you have had great trouble in carrying them to their post.

It is true that our traders sell some things a little dearer [than the English], but they take all you have ; they reject nothing, you run no risk, and you have not the trouble of carrying your stuff a long distance. Moreover, you are free to choose what you want : men, women, and children, you come into our houses and into our fort whenever you please, and are always well received. Our goods are better, as you acknowledge, than those of the English ; it would therefore be contrary both to reason and to your own interest to go to them. I am glad to tell you that there will never be any credit here in future for those who go there. So now take courage and hunt well, so that I may have the pleasure of seeing your families well dressed, and that the traders who

habillées et que les Traitteurs qui ont tant de peine à venir ici, s'en retournent contens, cela fera plaisir a nôtre Pere.

Aprés ce discours qui êtoit necessaire au commerce pour le rendre plus avantageux et pour Eux et pour Nous, les Chefs me presenterent un Collier pour me remercier de ce que je leur donnois de l'esprit, et me dirent qu'jls acceptoient toutes mes demandes. Ils me prierent de ne les pas oublier dans mon voyage, me recommandants surtout de ne les point abandonner pour toujours et de revenir au plûtôt chez Eux, Ils adjouterent ensuitte, Mon Pere, nous demeurerons tranquils en ton absence, ayants tes Enfants chez Nous, et nous te prions, si tu descends à Montreal, de parler pour nous à nôtre Pere le grand Chef êtants au nombre de ses Enfants.

Le 10 May je fis partir six canots de pelletries pour Kamanistigoüya.

Le 11 Tous les guerriers vinrent prendre congé de Moy,

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take so much trouble to come here may return satisfied. That will give pleasure to our Father.'

After this speech, which was necessary for business in order to render it more advantageous both for them and for us, the chiefs presented me with a collar to thank me for giving them understanding, and said that they assented to all my requests. They begged me not to forget them on my journey, and especially not to abandon them forever, but to return to them as soon as I could. They added these words: 'My Father, we shall keep quiet while you are away, having your sons with us, and we beg of you, if you go down to Montreal, to speak for us to our Father, the great chief, as we are of the number of his children.'

On the 10th of May I sent off six canoe loads of peltries to Kaministikwia.

On the 11th all the warriors came to take leave of me.

Jls me dirent qu'jls vouloient monter par la riviere S^t^. Pierre pour mettre leurs canots au haut d'une fourche par ou l'Ennemy avoit coutume de passer pour venir chez Eux, et cela pour mettre leurs Terres et leurs familles à couvert et se rendre aux prairies ou les Assenipoils leurs avoient donné rendez-vous, Je consentis à Tout Jls me dirent que leur Campagne seroit de deux Lunes et que le nombre des guerriers pouroit monter à 11 ou 1200 hommes lorsque les Assenipoils les auroient joints.

Les deux françois que J'avois envoyé au Lac Ouÿnipigon arriverent avec un Chef et 18 hommes, Ils m'ont dit avoir trouvé beaucoup de monde dont ils ont êté bien reçûs, cependant dirent Jls, nous ne pûmes les engager de monter

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They told me that they wanted to go up the river St. Pierre [1] to place their canoes above a fork in the river by which the enemy was accustomed to pass in order to come to them, and so as to put their lands and their families in safety, and then to go to the prairies where the Assiniboin had given them rendezvous. I consented to everything. They told me that their campaign would last two months and that the number of warriors might amount to eleven or twelve hundred men when the Assiniboin had joined them.[2]

The two Frenchmen whom I had sent to Lake Winnipeg arrived with a chief and eighteen men. They told me that they had found a considerable population and had been well received; at the same time, they said, we could never get

[1] This would seem to be the river marked on some early maps as the Road of War, and known to-day as Warroad river. The town of Warroad stands at its mouth. The river enters the south-west side of the Lake of the Woods. During the French *régime* it was the route followed by Sioux war-parties in attacking the Cree and Monsoni about the Lake of the Woods.

[2] It appears from a letter of Beauharnois to the French Minister, dated October 14th, 1737, that this war party, instead of attacking the Sioux of the Prairie, or Mascoutens Poüanes, as they had told La Vérendrye, deliberately attacked the Sioux of the Woods, who were on friendly terms with the French. It is suggested, and with every degree of probability, that the subsequent attack of the Sioux on the French in 1736, in which young La Vérendrye lost his life, was in revenge for this expedition.

au fort S[t]. Charles, parce qu'jls sçavoient que nous manquions de fusils, Chaudieres et Tabac, que s'ils alloient aux Anglois c'êtoit pour la derniére fois, Esperants nous avoir chez Eux suivant les parolles données ; Nos françois me dirent que le Lieu le plus commode tant pour la vie, que pour être à portée de tous les sauvages, êtoit à deux Journées dans le Lac du Côté du Sud-Oüest à l'embouchûre de la Riviere rouge, la Terre est un beau bois de haute futaye, beaucoup de chesnes blancs, les sauvages leur ont dit qu'jl y avoit une mine que les Anglois leur ont dit être d'argent, dont jls ont apporté un petit morceau en ayants perdus un gros, Elle contient deux Lieües sur le Bord du Lac Ouÿnipigon à deux Journées de la riviere rouge, à cinq ou six lieües de la meme

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them to go up to fort St. Charles, because they knew that we were out of guns, kettles and tobacco ; that if they went to the English it was for the last time, as they hoped to have us in their neighbourhood according to the promises made.

Our Frenchmen said that the most convenient place both for living purposes and for being within reach of all the savages was two days' journey in the lake on the south-west side at the mouth of the Red river, where there is a fine wood of high timber, including a great deal of white oak.[1]

The savages told them that there was a mine which the English said was of silver. They brought a small specimen of the ore, having lost a large one. This mine runs for two leagues along the shore of Lake Winnipeg two days' journey from the Red river[2] ; and at five or six leagues from the

[1] Oak is, or was, found in spots, though never plentiful, on the south-west and south shores of Lake Winnipeg, as well as on Lake Manitoba and Lake Winnipegosis.

[2] In his *Report on the Geology of the West Shore and Islands of Lake Winnipeg* (*Geol. Survey of Canada*, 1898), D. B. Dowling says that gold and silver ores have been reported from certain districts on the west coast of the lake, but that apparently they are of small amount.

Riviere Jl y a une source d'Eau salée qui forme un bassin, Le soleil même coägule l'Eau qui forme un sel tres blanc, Jls m'en ont apporté qui est tres bon, les sauvages s'en servent ils disent qu'jls connoissent plusieurs autres sortes de mines qu'jls indiqueront quand on sera étably chez Eux.

Le Chef Cris venû avec nos deux françois me presentâ un Esclave, me disant au nom de tous les Chefs du Lac Ouynipigon qu'jl remercioit Nôtre Pere de ce qu'jl vouloit bien avoir pitié d'Eux en me faisant établir chez Eux, qu'jl me demandoit un de mes Enfants pour Chef, si je ne pouvois pas y aller moy-même, que je ne fusse point faché, s'jls n'êtoient pas tous venus, que les françois m'en avoient dit la raison ; qu'à leur arrivée chez Eux Jl avoit fait avertir tous les Cristinaux domiciliés autour du Lac et même les

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same river there is a salt spring which forms a basin where the sun dries up the water so as to form a very white salt.[1] They brought me some of it and it is very good. The savages use it, and they say that they know of several other kinds of mines which they will tell us about when we are established in their neighbourhood.

The Cree chief who came with our two Frenchmen presented me with a slave, telling me, in the name of all the chiefs of Lake Winnipeg, that he thanked our Father for consenting to have pity on them in getting me to establish a post in their country, and asked me to give them one of my sons as chief if I could not go there myself. He begged me not to be vexed if they had not all come, as the Frenchmen had told me the reason. On the arrival of the latter in their settlement he had notified all the Cree living round

[1] Salt springs are found in the country between Lake Winnipeg and Lakes Winnipegosis and Manitoba, but they are more numerous in the Devonian area west of the two latter lakes. Some of these springs were used for the manufacture of salt in the early days of the Red River Settlement. See H. Y. Hind's *Report on Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition*, pp. 94–5.

Assenipoils qui n'en sont pas loin dans le Sudoüest pour leur apprendre que les françois êtoient chez Eux pour s'y établir incessamment et pour leur fournir leurs besoins ; Je demanday si l'anglois sçavoit que nous êtions chez le Cris et s'il ne tenoit pas de mauvais discours, il me dit I'ay parlé au Chef l'esté dernier, Je luy demanday s'il n'êtoit pas faché de ce que le françois êtoit venû prés de Nous, il repondît que Non, que nous êtions freres et qu'jl ne se fachoit jamais le premier qu'jl êtoit facile de nous accommoder ensemble : le françois, dit Jl, veut le Castor gras Et Moy Je demande Le Sec : si tu le vas voir dis Luy de ma part que je le prie de ne tenir aucun mauvais discours de L'anglois, comme Je n'en tiens aucun mauvais du françois, Je demanday s'il y avoit loin pour se rendre au premier fort anglois de la riviere rouge, Jl me dit qu'jl falloit dix grandes Journées pour y

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the lake, and even the Assiniboin who are at no great distance to the south-west, to let them know that the Frenchmen had arrived with the intention of establishing themselves there at once and for the purpose of supplying the needs of the inhabitants.

I asked him if the English knew that we were with the Cree, and if they did not abuse us. He said : ' I spoke to the [English] chief last summer, and asked him if he was not vexed that the French had come into our neighbourhood. He answered No, that we were all brothers and that he was never the first to get angry, and that there would be no difficulty in coming to an understanding. The Frenchman, he said, wants the beaver fat and I want it dry. If you are going to see him, he said, say from me that I beg him not to say anything against the Englishman as I say nothing against the Frenchman.'

I asked if it was far from the Red river to the first English fort. He said that it was ten good days' journey to

descendre et vingt à remonter, que la riviere est remplie de chutes et de rapides, passant par une terre sterile et traversant une chaisne de montagnes, Je luy fis des presens comme J'avois fait aux autres, et l'assûray que dans deux Lunes le françois iroit s'établir chez luy à la riviere rouge, il s'en retournâ fort content.

Le 27 May aprés avoir pourvû à la sûreté du fort S[t] Charles, laissant mon fils Cadet dans les troupes agé de 20 ans avec dix hommes, commandant en l'absence de son aisné, je partis avec cinq Canots pour S[t] Pierre, de la à

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go down to it and twenty to return; that the river is full of falls and rapids, passing through a sterile land and crossing a chain of mountains.[1]

I made him presents as I had done to the others, and assured him that in two moons the Frenchman would go and establish himself beside him at the [mouth of the] Red river. He went back highly pleased.

On the 27th of May, after having provided for the safety of fort St. Charles, leaving my son aged 20, a cadet in the troops, as commander with ten men in the absence of his elder brother, I left with five canoes for St. Pierre, and from

[1] This no doubt refers to York Factory, at the mouth of Hayes river and not far from the mouth of Nelson river. The route from York Factory to Lake Winnipeg, as generally used by the fur traders, lay up the Hayes river to Oxford lake, thence by a series of small waterways over the height of land and down the Echimamish river to Little Playgreen lake and Lake Winnipeg. It is possible that in La Vérendrye's day the Indians may have travelled down to York Factory by way of the Nelson, but more probable that they followed the Hayes route. Still another route ran from the Hayes up Fox and Leaf rivers to Bear and Trout lakes, thence to Cross lake on the Nelson, and by Minago river and Moose lake to the Saskatchewan. This route avoided Lake Winnipeg. Sir George Simpson travelled by canoe, in 1828, from York Factory to Lake Winnipeg in eight days, but this was in a light canoe, and Simpson was noted for his furious pace. David Thompson gives the distance from York Factory to Norway House, by the Hayes route, as 385 miles, and to the mouth of the Red river, 685 miles (geographical).

Kamanistigoüya ou J'arrivay le 16 Iuin, ayant fait grande diligence.

Le 18 je fis partir trois canots avec 12 hommes commandés par le S[ieur] Cartier un des Bourgeois ou associé pour le commerce, auquel je donnay des ordres pour se rendre jncessamment au Lac ouÿnipigon à l'embouchûre de la riviere rouge pour y construire un fort d'un arpent en quarré dont je luy donnay le plan avec une Jnstruction de ce qu'jl falloit faire, et ordre de dire aux sauvages que mon fils y descendroit à la fin de la Lune d'Aoust avec deux Canots.

Le 19, je partis de Kamanistigouÿa et j'arrivay à Missilimakinac le 6 Iuillet, mon neveu de la Jemeraye, (chargé des ordres de Monsieur le Marquis de Beauharnois) qui avoit

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that place went on to Kaministikwia, where I arrived on the 16th of June, having made great diligence.

On the 18th I sent off three canoes with twelve men commanded by the Sieur Cartier,[1] one of the bourgeois or partners in trade, to whom I gave orders to go immediately to Lake Winnipeg at the mouth of the Red river and there to construct a fort a square arpent in size, the plan of which I gave him with instructions as to what he had to do.[2] He was also to tell the savages that my son would go down with two canoes at the end of the August moon.

On the 19th I left Kaministikwia, and on the 6th of July I arrived at Michilimackinac. My nephew La Jemeraye, who had wintered in Canada, arrived the same day, a few

[1] René Cartier, son of Paul Cartier, a miller of Quebec, was born there in 1685, and died in the same place in 1767. He was for a time 'Associé de Sa Majesté dans les postes des Sept Iles.' Dr. Benjamin Sulte suggests that this was probably the partner mentioned above. Another of the same name was Jacques Cartier *dit* l'Angevin, a merchant of Quebec in 1750, who died there some time before 1771. He was the great-grandfather of Sir Georges Etienne Cartier.

[2] This was the post known as Fort Maurepas, later removed to the Winnipeg river. The site of the Red river fort is said to have been on the west bank, about six miles below Selkirk. See Société Historique de St. Boniface, *Bulletin*, i, 3.

hiverné en Canada, arrivâ le même jour quelques heures aprés Moy, Jl partît le 12 Iuillet avec six canots pour le Lac des bois, avec ordre à mon fils de remettre à son Cousin le fort S^t^. Charles, et de descendre incessamment au Lac Ouÿnipigon, et sur le bord de la riviere rouge, ou il trouvera le nouveau fort construit ou du moins bien avancé, je luy ay envoyé une Jnstruction par ecrit de ce qu'jl devoit dire aux sauvages et de la maniere dont il devoit se comporter envers tout le monde.

Ie partis de Missilimakinac chargé de pelletries et me suis rendû à Montréal le 16. Aoust 1734 en parfaite santé, sans inquietudes des quatre postes auxquels j'avois pourvû, en laissant à chaque commandant une Jnstruction par ecrit, suivant les ordres que j'avois reçû de Monsieur le Marquis de Beauharnois Gouverneur general de toute la nouvelle france.

LAVERENDRYE [a]

[a] Signature autographe.

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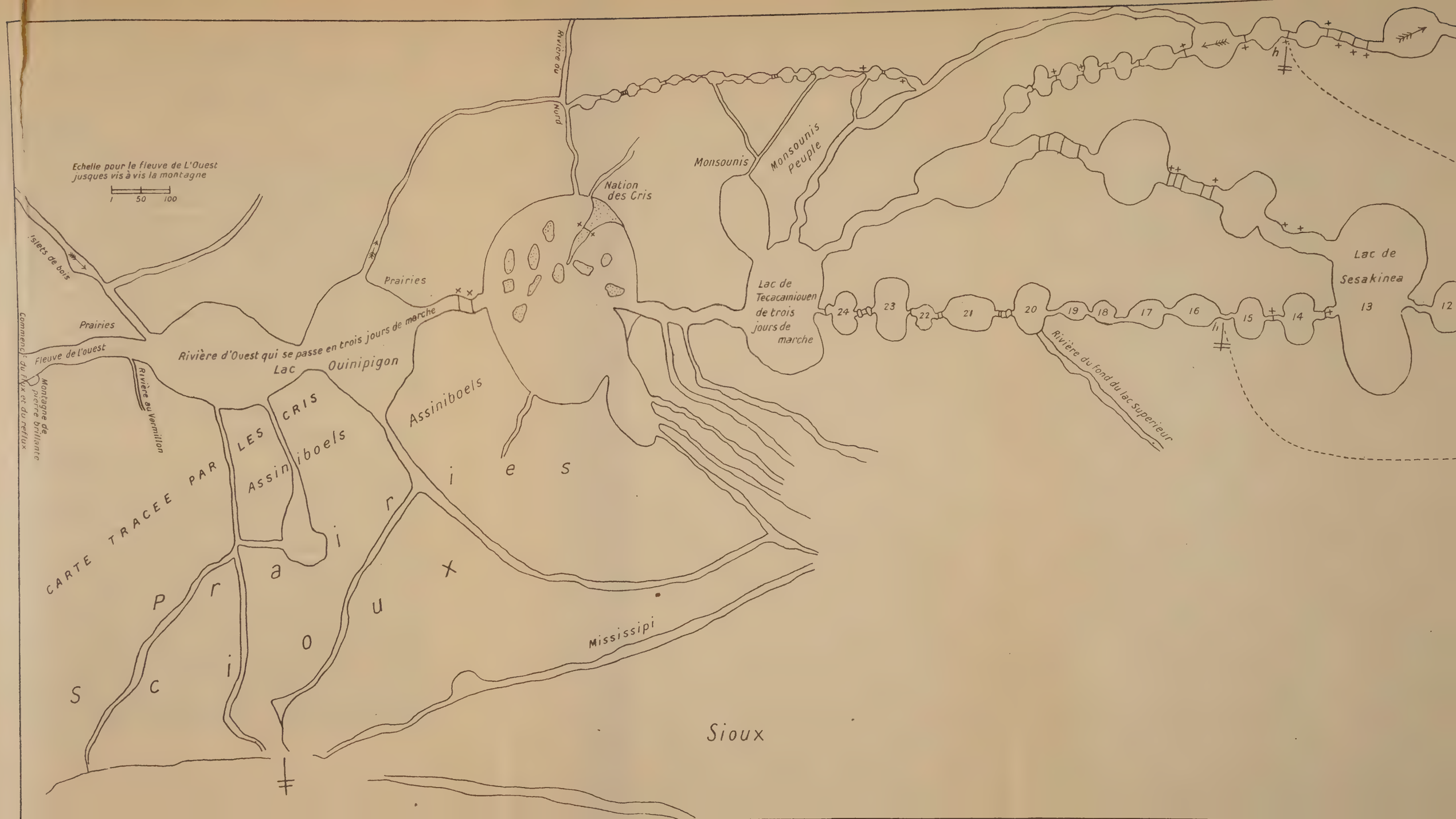
hours after me, bearing orders from the Marquis de Beauharnois. He left on the 12th of July with six canoes for the Lake of the Woods with an order to my son to hand over fort St. Charles to his cousin and to go down at once to Lake Winnipeg and to the bank of the Red river, where he would find the new fort built or at least well advanced. I sent him instructions in writing as to what he was to say to the savages and how he was to conduct himself towards all persons.

I left Michilimackinac with a consignment of peltries, and arrived at Montreal on the 16th of August 1734, in perfect health, without any anxiety as to the four posts for which I had provided, having left to each commandant an instruction in writing, according to the orders which I had received from the Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor-General of the whole of New France.

LAVÉRENDRYE.


CARTE TRACEE PAR LES CRIS Assiniboels Sioux
Echelle pour le fleuve de L'Ouest jusques vis à vis la montagne
1 50 100
Islets de bois
Prairies
Fleuve de l'ouest
Rivière au Vermillon
Montagne de pierre brillante
Commencé du Flux et du reflux
Rivière d'Ouest qui se passe en trois jours de marche
Lac Ouinipigon
Prairies
Rivière du Nord
Nation des Cris
Monsounis
Monsounis Peuple
Lac de Tecacamiouen de trois jours de marche
Assiniboels
Mississipi
Rivière du fond du lac Superieur
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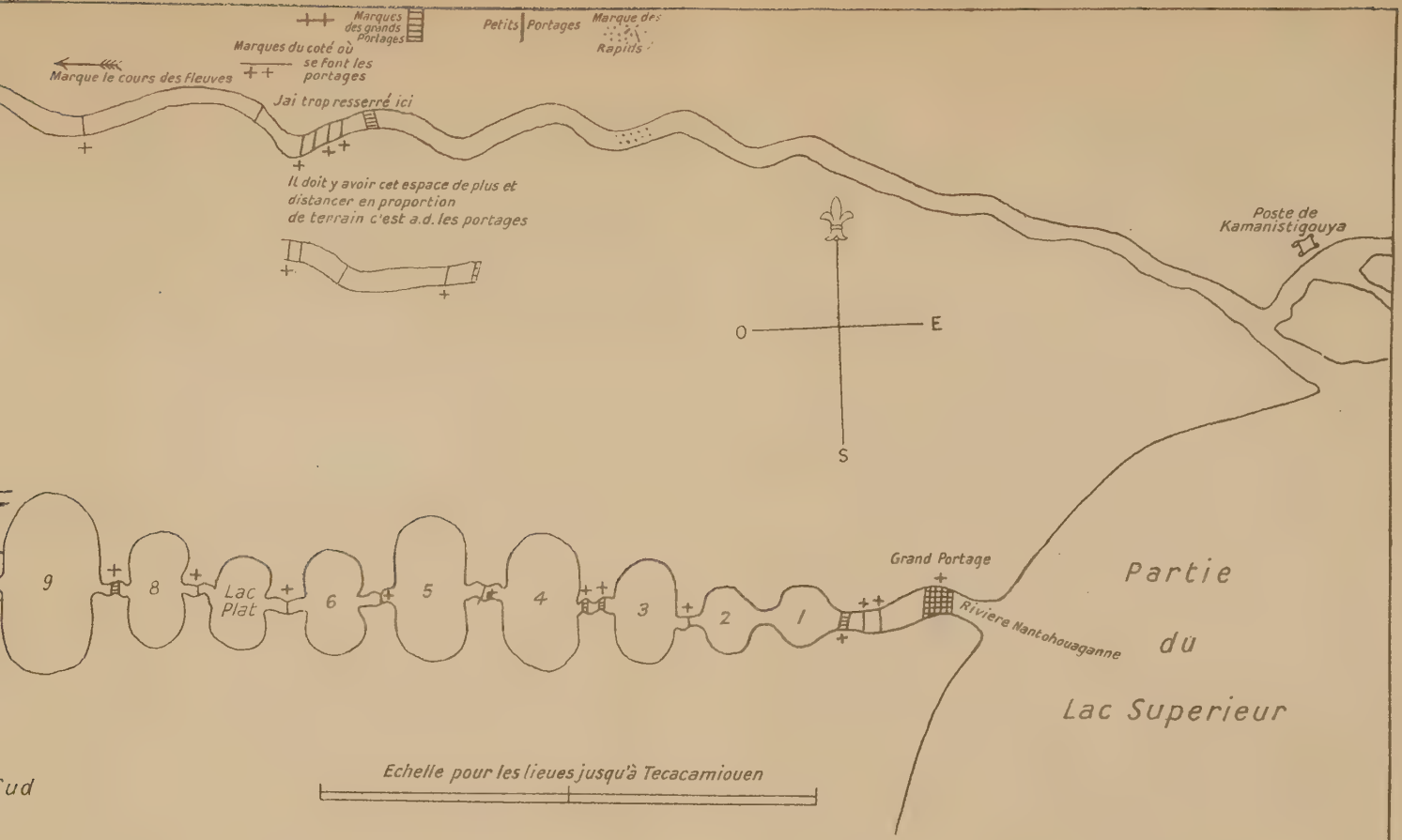
Marques des grands Portages
Petits Portages
Marque des Rapitis
Marques du coté où se font les portages
Marque le cours des fleuves
Jai trop resserré ici
Il doit y avoir cet espace de plus et distancer en proportion de terrain c'est a.d. les portages
Poste de Kamanistigouya
O
E
S
9
8
Lac Plat
6
5
4
3
2
1
Grand Portage
Riviere Nantohouaganne
Partie du Lac Superieur
Echelle pour les lieues jusqu'à Tecacamiouen
Sud

[*Lettre de Monsieur de la Verandrye, à Québec le 12 Octobre* 1734.]

Monseigneur

J'ay eu l'honneur de rendre compte à Monsieur le Marquis de Beauharnois du succès de mon voyage pour la découverte de la Mer D'ouest ainsy que Votre Grandeur le verra par le mémoire en forme de journal que je luy ay remis.

Il est facile de connoitre, Monseigneur, combien il y a à souffrir pour la réussite de cette entreprise, j'ay ordre de continuer cette découverte le printems prochain et cela suffit pour qu'il n'y ait plus de raison qui m'empêche d'obéir, je seray toujours prest à satisfaire à mon devoir, Sa Majesté n'ayant pas jugé à propos d'accorder la demande qu'on a faite l'année dernière, et comme il est nécessaire de faire des présens aux sauvages des endroits où je passeray, je ne puis le faire sans me trouver dans la nécessité d'emprunter, ceux qui sont en société avec moi ne voulant point entrer dans

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La Vérendrye to Maurepas.

Quebec, October 12, 1734.

Monseigneur,

I had the honour to give an account to the Marquis de Beauharnois of the success of my journey for the discovery of the Western Sea, as Your Highness will see by the memoir in the form of a journal which I have placed in his hands.

It is easy to understand, Monseigneur, that sacrifices are demanded for the success of this enterprise. I have orders to continue the exploration next spring, and that is sufficient to ensure my obedience; I shall always be ready to fulfil my duty. His Majesty not having judged it expedient to grant the request made to him last year, and as it is necessary to make presents to the savages of the places I shall pass through, I am in this position that I cannot do it without borrowing, those who are in partnership with me not being willing to encounter this expense notwithstanding

cette Dépense quoiqu'elle soit indispensable. Ce ne seroit point un objet pour l'entreprise, mais j'assureray, Votre Grandeur, que cela en devient un pour moy très considérable d'autant plus que je dois désjà beaucoup aux marchands équipeurs. Monseiur le Général m'a fait l'honneur de me dire qu'il me donnera quelques Présens.

Le dernier de mes enfants âgé de dix huit ans est actuellement à Québec où il passera l'hyver pour apprendre les mathématiques et à dessiner afin qu'il soit en état de faire une Carte juste des pays où nous passerons et il se joindra ce printems à ses trois frères pour le service de cette entreprise.

Je poursuivray aussi loin que l'on peut aller cette découverte, et j'ay lieu de présumer que je ne pourray donner des nouvelles de mon voyage à Votre Grandeur, que dans deux ou trois ans, Enfin, Monseigneur, je feray tous mes efforts

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that it is indispensable. It would not be an object for the enterprise, but I assure Your Highness that it is a very considerable one for me, and all the more so from the fact that I am already deeply in debt to the supply merchants. The General has done me the honour to say that he will give me a few presents.

The youngest of my children, a boy of eighteen, is at present at Quebec, where he will pass the winter in learning mathematics and drawing so that he may be able to make a correct map of the countries we shall pass through, and in the spring he will join his three brothers [1] upon the service of this undertaking.

I shall push this discovery as far as it is possible to go, and I hardly suppose I shall be able to give Your Highness any news of my journey for two or three years. Finally, Monseigneur, I shall do my utmost to fulfil the intentions

[1] La Vérendrye's four sons were: Jean-Baptiste, born at Sorel, September 5, 1713; Pierre, born December 26, 1714; François, born December 22, 1715; and Louis-Joseph, referred to above, born November 9, 1717.

pour remplir les intentions de Sa Majesté et j'espère que mes services vous en[ga]geront d'accorder à ma famille et à moy l'honneur de votre protection.

Je suis avec un tres profond Respect, Monseigneur,
De votre Grandeur le tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur
LAVERENDRYE.

A Quebec le 12. 8^{bre}. 1734.

A M. le M[arqu]is de Beauharnois.

A V[ersai]lles le 12 Avril 1735.

M.

J'ay rendu compte au Roy de votre Lettre du 8 8^{bre}. de l'année d[ernie]re et du Mem[oi]re du Sr de la Veranderye au sujet de la decouverte de la mer de l'Ouest. Il paroit par ce Mem[oi]re que le d[erni]er Etablissement fait par cet Off[icie]r est sur le Lac Ouinipigon. Le Raport que luy ont fait les deux hommes qu'il y avoit envoyés, et les discours que luy ont tenus les sauvages qu'ils ont enmenés, peuvent

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of His Majesty, and I hope that my services will induce you to give to myself and my family the honour of your protection.

I am with most profound respect, Monseigneur,
Your Highness's very humble and very obedient servant,
LAVÉRENDRYE.

Maurepas to Beauharnois.

Versailles, April 12, 1735.

Monsieur,

I have informed the King of your letter of the 8th October of last year and of the Sieur de la Vérendrye's Memoir touching the discovery of the Western Sea. It appears by the Memoir in question that the last establishment created by that officer is on Lake Winnipeg. The report made him by the two men whom he had sent thither, and what he heard from the Indians they brought with them, give reason

faire esperer qu'il y trouvera des facilités pour aller plus loin, et s'il parvient, co[mm]e il ne paroit pas qu'on en puisse douter, jusqu'aux Ouatchipoüennes, il y trouvera vraysemblablement de nouvelles ouvertures pour le succez de son Entreprise. Quoyqu'il en soit, S.M. a vû avec plaisir le detail qu'il fait dans son memoire de tout ce qui s'est passé dans son voyage : Elle a approuvé la conduite qu'il a tenüe par raport aux differentes nations qu'il a vües, et Elle a eté satisfaite particulierement du zele avec lequel il s'est preté à la demande que luy ont faite les Cris, et les Monsonis, de leur donner son fils pour aller en guerre avec Eux, Il est a croire qu'une pareille marque de confiance luy attachera ces sauvages.

S.M. est cependant toujours dans les dispositions de ne point entrer dans aucune depense par raport a cette entreprise, dans laquelle il y a grande aparence que les Interessés ne perdent pas. Mais Elle aura egard, comme je vous l'ay deja

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for hoping that he will obtain facilities there for going further ; and if, as there is little reason to doubt, he gets as far as the country of the Ouachipouennes, he will there, in all probability, find new openings for the success of his enterprise.

However that may be, His Majesty has observed with pleasure the detail he gives in his Memoir of all that occurred in the course of his journey ; he has approved of his conduct with relation to the different tribes he saw ; and was particularly pleased at the zeal he displayed in complying with the request made by the Cree and the Monsoni to let them have his son to go to war with them. Such a mark of confidence, we may believe, will secure him the attachment of those savages.

His Majesty, however, is still indisposed to incur any expense in connection with this enterprise, in which it seems very likely the parties concerned will sustain no loss. But, as I have already explained to you, His Majesty will not over-

expliqué au zele avec lequel vous marqués que le Sr de la Veranderye s'y livre, et Elle a approuvé que vous l'ayés expliqué a cet Officier.

Elle souhaite que vous continuiés de rendre un compte exact et detaillé de tout ce qui vous reviendra sur cela ; et Elle espere que vous pourés luy aprendre que le Sr De la Veranderye aura fait de nouveaux progres.

Extrait des lettres des S[ieu]rs de Laverendrye fils, et La Jemmeraye, écrites à Monsieur le Marquis de Beauharnois Gouverneur general de la Nouvelle France, les sept Juin et vingt trois Juillet 1735.

Lettre du S[ieur] de Laverendrye.

Monsieur

J'ay étably un fort au lac Ouynipigon a cinq lieües en remontant dans la rivière rouge sur une belle pointe qui

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look the zeal with which, as you state, the Sieur de la Vérendrye is devoting himself to the work, and he approves of your having intimated this to that officer.

His Majesty desires that you will continue to give an exact and detailed account of anything else that may come to your knowledge on this subject, and he hopes that you will be able to inform him of further progress made by the Sieur de la Vérendrye.

La Vérendrye to Beauharnois.[1]

June 7, 1735.

Monsieur,

I have established a fort at Lake Winnipeg five leagues up the Red river, on a fine point commanding a distant view.

[1] This is an extract from a letter of Pierre de la Vérendrye, the explorer's second son, to the Governor, which, with the following extract from La Jemeraye's letter, the Governor is sending to Maurepas. Pierre had been left in command of fort St. Charles in May 1734, and in July had been relieved by La Jemeraye, with orders to go down to the new fort.

decouvre de loin, Il y a beaucoup de poisson dans cette riviere, c'est un trés bel endroit, la vie y est gratieuse et les animaux en abondance, il y a trente portages et pas un seul de mauvais, le fort et la riviere portent le nom de Maurepas, je n'ay pu m'etablir plus près du lac parce que ce sont des prairies, je n'ay Monsieur, point vû les Cristinaux, je conte qu'ils viendront tous me voir cet hiver, les ayant fait avertir de nôtre nouvel établissement, mon cousin Lajemmeraye est, Monsieur, a portée de vous rendre compte de tout ce qui s'est passé dans les premiers postes en l'absence de mon père.

There are many fish in this river; it is a fine spot and a pleasant place to live at; game abounds. There are thirty portages but not one bad one. The fort and the river bear the name of Maurepas. I could not establish myself nearer the Lake, because it is all prairie there. I have not seen the Cree yet; I expect they will all come to see me this winter, as I sent them word of our new establishment. My cousin La Jemeraye, Monsieur, is in a position to give you a full account of all that has taken place at the first posts in the absence of my father.[1]

[1] There has been some confusion among students of western history as to the site of fort Maurepas. The facts seem to be that, as suggested in an earlier note, fort Maurepas was first built on the west bank of Red river, a few miles from its mouth, and later removed to the north bank of Winnipeg river, also near its mouth, the earlier post being abandoned. The difficulty in identifying these forts is enhanced by the loose practice of the early explorers in transferring the same name not only from one fort to another, but from one river to another. Thus, fort Maurepas appears in some of the La Vérendrye journals and maps on Red river, sometimes on Winnipeg river; on the 1737 map it is shown at the mouth of the Assiniboine; while the name Maurepas is applied at different times both to the Red and Winnipeg rivers. In Bougainville's Memoir on the French Posts, 1757, the fort is not mentioned, although the other posts of La Vérendrye are described. The reference in Pierre de la Vérendrye's letter to 'thirty portages' cannot apply to the Red river. He must mean either the Winnipeg river, or the route from Lake of the Woods to Red river by way of the Roseau.

Lettre du S[ieur] de la Jemmeraye.

Monsieur,

Mon cousin Laverendrye m'a écrit qu'il avoit vû trois cent cabannes d'Assiniboils et qu'il en auroit bien vû d'autres s'il avoit eu des marchandises, il a demandé à cette nation des nouvelles des Oüatchipoüennes, ils luy ont dit que c'étoit des gens comme nous blancs et barbus, qu'ils n'ont point la chevelure de même que les autres sauvages, se nattants les cheveux aux côtés de la teste et quelques uns par derrière, qu'ils ont des ponts levis et sont bâtis comme les françois, que le chef est maître absolu et qu'il n'y en a qu'un dans chaque village, que celuy du premier est un jeune homme d'environ vingt ans, que du premier village on en voit six autres et qu'à celuy le plus éloigné il y a un chef d'un certain

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La Jemeraye to Beauharnois.

July 23, 1735.

Monsieur,

My cousin La Vérendrye has written to me to say that he had seen three hundred cabins of Assiniboin and that he would have seen a great many more if he had had a supply of goods.

He asked this tribe for information respecting the Ouachipouennes, and they told him that they were people like ourselves, white and with beards; that they do not wear their hair like the other savages, but plait it on both sides of the head and sometimes at the back; that they have drawbridges and build their forts as we do; that with them the chief is absolute master and they have only one in each village; that the chief of the first village is a young man of about twenty; that from the first village you can see six others, and that at the most distant one there is a chief of

âge qui est Roy des sept. Que tous leurs villages sont fortifiés et qu'à la porte de chaque chef il y a un may au bout duquel on voit quelque chose de blanc comme du linge, et que chaque chef a une tête de boeüf depeinte aux quatre coins de sa maison ; les femmes sont habillées en cuir et ont une espèce de corcet avec des jupes qui sont fort longues, que ces nations sont établies sur le bord d'une rivière qui est si large qu'on a de la peine à voir un homme de l'autre côté, Elle court (suivant le raport des Assiniboils) à l'oüest sud oüest, que plus loin il y a d'autres sauvages qui sont de même que les premiers à la réserve qu'ils se servent d'étoffes pour leurs vêtements et qu'ils ont des ferrements que les autres n'ont point, qu'ils disent tenir des François qui sont au bas de cette rivière au Soleil couchant, mais qu'il y a bien loin et qu'il faut passer sept autres nations pour arriver chez eux.

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a certain age who is king of all seven ; that all their villages are fortified, and that at the door of each chief there is a pole on the end of which they place something white like linen, and that each chief has the head of an ox painted on the four corners of his house.

The women are dressed in leather, and have a kind of corset to which are attached very long petticoats. These tribes are settled along the bank of a river which is so wide that it is difficult to see a man on the opposite side, and which flows, according to the statement of the Assiniboin, west-south-west, and that lower down there are other savages similar to these except that they use cloth for their clothing and possess iron tools of which the others are destitute. They claim to be of the same stock as the French who are at the mouth of the river towards the west ; but it is a very long journey to get to them, and there are seven other tribes to pass on the way.

Les Assiniboils ont adjouté qu'ils alloient partir en famille pour se rendre les Oüatchipoüennes et leur laisseroient leurs familles pendant qu'ils iroient en guerre d'un autre côté.

Mon cousin a proffité Monsieur, de cette occasion en leur donnant un collier de vôtre part pour porter aux Ouatchipoüennes et leur dire que s'ils vouloient recevoir les françois chez eux qu'ils vinssent au devant jusques à l'endroit qu'il leur a indiqué, les Assiniboils luy ont promis de le remettre au grand chef et de l'engager à envoyer au devant de nous.

Nous avons fait cette année 600 paquets de pelletries, on n'en poura descendre faute de monde que 400, ce qui nous fait bien tort.

Voila, Monsieur, toutes les connoissances que j'ay pû tirer, je conte l'année prochaine en avoir d'autres plus positives et faire le voyage des Ouatchipoüennes.

The Assiniboin added that they were going to start with their families and go to the Ouachipouennes and would leave their families with them while they went to make war in another quarter.

My cousin profited, Monsieur, by this occasion to give them a collar in your name to carry to the Ouachipouennes in order to tell them that, if they wished to receive the French among them, they were to come to meet them at the place he indicated to them. The Assiniboin promised to deliver it to the great chief and to urge him to send envoys to meet us.

We have this year made up six hundred packages of furs, but for want of men we shall not be able to send down more than four hundred, which is quite a loss to us.

This, Monsieur, is all the information I have been able to obtain. I hope to have something more positive to communicate next year, and also to make the journey to the country of the Ouachipouennes.

[*Lettre de Monsieur le Marquis de Beauharnois à Québec le* 8 *octobre* 1735.]

Monseigneur,

J'ay recu la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 12. Avril der[nier] au sujet de l'entreprise du S[ieur] de Laverendrye pour la découverte de la Mer de l'Ouest.

J'avois informé cet officier l'année d[erni]ère que Sa Majesté n'étoit point dans les dispositions d'entrer dans aucune dépense à cette occasion, mais sur les représentations qu'il m'a faites que cette entreprise luy avoit causé des pertes considérables, et à quoy il est certain qu'on est exposé dans les nouveaux établissements, je luy ay permis d'affermer pendant trois ans à des négociants les postes qu'il a établis, à condition qu'il n'y feroit aucun commerce directement ny indirectement, de façon qu'il pût suivre son entreprise avec toute la diligence possible, je l'ay en même tems averty que

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Beauharnois to Maurepas.

October 8, 1735.

Monseigneur,

I have received the letter that you did me the honour to write me on the 12th of April last on the subject of the enterprise of the Sieur de la Vérendrye for the discovery of the Western Sea.

I had informed that officer last year that His Majesty was not in the mood to undertake any expense in connection with this matter; but on the representations he made to me that the enterprise had involved him in heavy losses, which it is certain one is likely to incur in these new establishments, I gave him permission to farm out some posts that he had established to certain merchants for a period of three years, on condition that he would not himself do any trading directly or indirectly so that he might be able to pursue his enterprise with all possible diligence. I warned him at the

si je n'en voyois point de sa part, je serois obligé de prendre un autre party, et que n'ayant plus de société avec ses équipeurs, il ne devoit être uniquement occupé qu'à suivre son projet.

Le S[ieur] de Lavérendrye a en conséquence finy et réglé d'affaires avec ses associés et s'est entièrement dépouillé de tout intérêt de commerce dans tous les endroits qu'il a établis et qu'il doit établir, il est party le printems dernier pour aller à son poste, et il m'écrit de Missilimakinac que son fils devoit se rendre à celuy d'Ouynipigon avant que les sauvages entrassent dans les terres, et qu'il leur avoit donné parolle de les aller trouver dans la lune d'Octobre, que pour luy il l'iroit joindre au commencement du printemps prochain avec le R[évérend] P[ère] Auneau, Jésuite. Il adjoute que

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same time that, if I did not observe diligence on his part, I should be obliged to take some one else, and that having no longer any partnership with the men who furnished his supplies he ought to give his entire attention to the prosecution of his project.

The Sieur de la Vérendrye has in consequence terminated all relations and settled every matter of business with his associates and divested himself of all commercial interest in the places he has already established or may hereafter establish, and left last spring to go to his post. He writes me from Michilimackinac that his son was to go to the post at Winnipeg before the savages went into the woods, and that he had given them his word that he would go and see them during the October moon: he himself would go and join him early the following spring with the Reverend Father Aulneau, Jesuit.[1]

[1] Jean Aulneau, born April 21, 1705, at Moutiers-sur-le-Hay, France. He entered the Society of Jesus at the age of fifteen, and came out to New France in 1734. See *The Aulneau Collection*, ed. by Rev. Arthur E. Jones, S.J., and pub. by St. Mary's College, Montreal, 1893; and T. J Campbell, *Pioneer Priests of North America* (1911), v. 3.

son fils doit inviter les Assiniboils pour les accompagner chez les Ouatchipouennes, qu'ils construiront un fort proche de cette nation et qu'il s'assurera du caractère de ces sauvages par le moyen des Assiniboils, avant que de s'exposer à aller chez eux ; il doit aussy faire construire une grande pirogue pour descendre le fleuve qui conduit chez ces Ouatchipouennes, et cet officier me marque qu'il fera des présens à toutes les nations qu'il rencontrera dans sa route, afin de les mettre dans ses intérests et d'en tirer les connoissances dont il a besoin ; Je joints, Monseigneur, les extraits des lettres qui m'ont été écrites par les S[ieu]rs de Lavérendrye fils et Lajemmeraye, touchant la conduite qu'ils ont tenue pendant l'absence du S[ieu]r de Lavérendrye, Père, et les négociations qu'ils ont faites avec les nations de ces endroits.

Ce sont, Monseigneur, toutes les connoissances que j'en ay pû tirer cette année, et dont je puisse avoir l'honneur de

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He adds that his son is to invite the Assiniboin to accompany them to the country of the Ouachipouennes, that they will construct a fort near to that tribe, and that he will ascertain the character of those savages through the Assiniboin before running the risk of going amongst them. He intends also to have a large wooden canoe made in which to descend the river that leads to those Ouachipouennes ; and he tells me that he will make presents to all the tribes he meets on the way so as to secure their interest and obtain from them the information he requires.

I annex, Monseigneur, extracts of the letters written by the Sieurs de la Vérendrye the son and La Jemeraye, touching the line of conduct they have followed during the absence of Sieur de la Vérendrye the father, and the negotiations they have had with the tribes of those regions.

This, Monseigneur, is all the information I have been able to obtain from them this year, and all that I can have

vous faire part, je conte être en état l'année prochaine de vous donner des nouvelles plus positives de l'état où se trouvera cette entreprise, ayant fort recommandé au S[ieur] de Lavérendrye de m'en informer exactement.

Au surplus je me flatte, Monseigneur, que vous approuverez le tempérament que j'ay pris à l'égard du S[ieur] de Lavérendrye et qui m'a parû d'autant mieux convenir que cet officier n'étant plus occupé d'aucun commerce et luy ayant d'ailleurs procuré les moyens de trouver de quoy se dédommager des frais et des présens qu'il est tenu de faire aux nations par la ferme qu'il retire de ces postes, il n'aura à l'avenir aucune représent[ati]on à faire sur les pertes que cette entreprise pouroit luy causer, qu'il a ordre de suivre avec toute la diligence possible et de me rendre compte l'année prochaine des nouveaux progrès qu'il y aura fait.

Au reste, les établissements qu'il a faits dans ces endroits, ont produits 600 paquets de pelletries dont on n'en a pû

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the honour of communicating to you. I expect to be able next year to give you more positive news as to the situation of the enterprise, having strongly urged upon the Sieur de la Vérendrye to give me exact details.

I flatter myself, besides, Monseigneur, that you will approve the position I took with regard to the Sieur de la Vérendrye, which seemed to me all the more proper on the ground that the officer in question being no longer occupied with any commerce and having been furnished by me with the means of recouping himself for his outlay and the presents he is obliged to make to the tribes by the rental he is deriving from those posts, he will have nothing to urge in future as to losses arising from the enterprise, which he has orders to pursue with all possible diligence, rendering me an account next year of his further progress.

I may add that the establishments he has made in those places have produced six hundred packages of peltries, of

descendre que 400 cette année (on m'a assuré depuis que le tout descendroit) et il y a lieu de croire que lorsque ces postes seront parfaitement bien établis, ils augmenteront considérablement le commerce de pelletries qui se fait en cette colonie, et le produit des congez que l'on rendra à des voyageurs après les trois années dont le S[ieur] de Lavérendrye doit jouir.

Je suis avec un très profond respect, Monseigneur, Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur

BEAUHARNOIS.

A Quebec ce 8e.
Octobre 1735.

A M. le M[arqu]is de Beauharnois.

A V[ersai]lles le 17 Avril 1736.

M.

J'ay receu la lettre que vous m'avés ecrite le 8 8bre. de l'année d[ernie]re au sujet de la decouverte de la Mer de Louest ; Et j'en ay rendu compte au Roy.

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which only four hundred could be brought down this year (I have been assured since that the whole would be brought down) ; and there is reason to believe that, when these posts shall have been thoroughly established, they will increase considerably the total amount of the fur trade carried on in this colony, as well as the proceeds of the licences that will be issued to voyageurs after the expiration of the three years of which the Sieur de la Vérendrye is to have the benefit.

I am with very profound respect, Monseigneur,
Your most humble and obedient servant,

BEAUHARNOIS.

Maurepas to Beauharnois.

Versailles, April 17, 1736.

Monsieur,

I received the letter you wrote me on the 8th October of last year on the subject of the discovery of the Western Sea, and have given information of it to the King.

Les Extraits que vous avés joins a cette lettre de celles que vous avés receus du S. de la Verenderye fils, et du Sr de la Jemeraye, n'ajoutent rien de bien considerable au detail contenu dans la relation que vous en envoyates en 1734, concernant cette decouverte. Peut etre serés vous en etat de donner cette année quelques nouvelles plus interessantes. Quoy qu'il en soit vous aurés agreable de me faire part de celles qui vous en reviendront.

S.M. a approuvé que vous ayés permis au S^r^. de la Verenderye d'affermer pour 3 ans a des Neg[ociant]s les postes qu'il a etablis, a condition qu'il n'y fera aucun commerce directement ni indirectement, par ce moyen il n'aura plus de rep[rese]ntations à faire sur les depenses que cette entreprise pouvoit luy occasionner. En tous cas S.M. n'y auroit aucun egard, et Elle est toujours dans les mêmes dispositions que je vous ay expliquées la dessus.

The extracts you have subjoined to that letter, taken from those which you had received from the Sieur de la Vérendrye the son and from Sieur de la Jemeraye, do not add much to what was contained in the report you sent in 1734, so far as the exploration in progress is concerned. Perhaps next year you will be able to give more interesting news. In any case I shall be glad to get any that you may receive.

His Majesty approves of your having allowed the Sieur de la Vérendrye to lease for three years the posts he has established to certain merchants, on the understanding that he himself will do no trading there directly or indirectly. He will consequently not have to make any further representations on the subject of the expense entailed by his enterprise. In any case His Majesty would not take any such representations into consideration, his views on the subject remaining unchanged.

[*Lettre de Monsieur le Marquis de Beauharnois à Québec le* 14 *Octobre* 1736.]

Monseigneur

J'ay receu la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire le dix sept avril dernier au sujet de la découverte de la Mer de l'Ouest, je n'ay pû, Monseigneur, vous donner d'autres connoissances ne m'ayant esté rien mandé de particulier.

J'ay receu cette année une lettre du S[ieur] de la Vérandérie dattée du fort S[ain]t Charles Lac des Bois le deux Juin, par laquelle il me marque qu'il n'a pû s'y rendre avec le Père Auneau, Jésuite que le deux Octobre, et que tous les canots des marchands équipeurs ont hiverné à Kamanistigouya la saison étant trop avancée pour venir le joindre ce qui l'a empesché de poursuivre sa route ses vivres et effets nécessaires étant dedans, il ajoute que tous les sauvages

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Beauharnois to Maurepas.

Quebec, October 14, 1736.

Monseigneur,

I have received the letter which you did me the honour to write me on the seventeenth of last April on the subject of the discovery of the Western Sea. I cannot, Monseigneur, give you any additional information, as I have not received any myself of any special interest.

I received this year a letter from the Sieur de la Vérendrye dated from the fort St. Charles, Lake of the Woods, the second of June, in which he informed me that he had not been able to get there with Father Aulneau, Jesuit, till the second of October, and that all the canoes of the supply merchants wintered at Kaministikwia, the season being too far advanced to permit them to go and join him, and that consequently he was unable to pursue his route, his provisions and necessary effects being in those canoes.

l'ayant seu ils ont pris le party d'aller traitter chez les Anglois et que son neveu ayant esté dangereusement malade, il s'est trouvé hors d'état de faire aucune découverte. Le Sieur De la Véranderie propose un nouvel établissement au Sud du Lac des Prairies et me marque que cet endroit sera avantageux par raport aux pelleteries.

Il m'a écrit de cet endroit le huit du même mois et me mande que les canots venoient d'arriver de Kamanistigouya, et qu'ils n'avoient point rencontré le convoy party le cinq pour Missilimakinac, conduit par son fils aisné dans lequel etoit le Père Auneau et vingt deux engagez, il m'aprend la mort du S[ieur] De la Jemeraye, et me témoigne la crainte où il est que ce convoy n'ait esté defait par les Sçioux des Prairies.

J'ay sçu depuis, Monseigneur, que le convoy avoit este entièrement deffait par ces sauvages, et voicy le détail de ce qui y a donné lieu.

He adds that when the savages learnt that, they decided to go and trade with the English, and that his nephew having been dangerously ill was unable to make any discovery. The Sieur de la Vérendrye proposes a new establishment on the south of Lake of the Prairies,[1] and observes that this point would be an advantageous one in respect to the trade in furs.

He wrote me from that place on the eighth of the same month and informed me that the canoes had just arrived from Kaministikwia, and that they had not met the convoy which left on the fifth for Michilimackinac conducted by his eldest son, in which were Father Aulneau and twenty-two hired men. He informs me of the death of the Sieur de la Jemeraye, and expresses his fear that this convoy may have met defeat at the hands of the Sioux of the Prairies.

I have learnt since, Monseigneur, that the convoy in question had been utterly overcome by those savages; what brought this about I will explain.

[1] Lake Manitoba. The reference is to fort La Reine, described in a later memoir of La Vérendrye.

Vous pouvés, Monseigneur, vous rapeller qu'en l'année mil sept cent trente quatre le S[ieur] De la Véranderie me remit un mémoire pour vous estre envoyé que vous avez aprouvez l'année dernière, dans lequel il parle aux sauvages en ces termes : 'Je ne m'opose point que vous alliez en guerre contre les Maskoutinspouanes, vos ennemis.' par ce même mémoire il fait mention qu'il leur a accordé son fils pour aller à leur teste, il y a eté et a relasché, mais les sauvages ont poursuivy leur route, ce qui a donné lieu au malheur qui est arrivé, ainsy, Monseigneur, que vous l'allez voir.

Après avoir lû avec attention le mémoire du S[ieur] de la Véranderie, je m'informay à d'anciens voyageurs ce que c'éstoit que les Maskoutins Pouanes, ils me dirent qu'ils étoient Scioux des Prairies.

Je prévis sur le champ le coup qui est arrivé et luy fis de sévères deffences de ne pas envoyer à l'avenir de françois en guerre sur cette nation, ny même exciter les sauvages de son

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You may remember, Monseigneur, that in the year seventeen hundred and thirty-four the Sieur de la Vérendrye gave me a report to forward to you and which last year you approved. In this he speaks to the savages in these terms : 'I do not object to your going to war against the Mascoutens Poüanes your enemies.' In the same memoir he mentions that he gave them his son to lead them. He went, but only part of the way, while the savages pursued their march, and this it was which gave rise to the disaster, as, Monseigneur, you will see.

After having read with attention the memoir of the Sieur de la Vérendrye, I inquired from old voyageurs who these Mascoutens Poüanes were ; they said they were Sioux of the Prairies.

I foresaw at once the disaster that has happened, and I prohibited strictly his sending any Frenchmen in future to fight against that tribe, or even to excite the savages of his

poste à y aller, que ses ordres étoient de maintenir les sauvages en paix, en union et en tranquilité. Je luy fis remarquer l'endroit où il avoit observé qu'en y allant luy même, cela pouvoit tirer à conséquence, il me dit qu'il n'y enverroit plus.

Je me suis, Monseigneur, informé de tout ce qui s'est passé et j'ay apris que les Sauvages du Poste du S[ieur] De la Veranderie avoient frapés sur les prétendus Maskoutins Pouanes qui leur demandèrent Qui nous tue ? ils leurs répondirent C'est le françois ils résolurent aussitost de s'en venger et ont mis en usage tous les moyens pour y pouvoir parvenir, quoique le S[ieur] de la Véranderie eûst relasché, la première démarche a fait le même effet que s'il y avoit esté.

Au commancement de Juin dernier, un party de Sçioux des Prairies au nombre de cent trente hommes trouvèrent le canot du Père Auneau conduit par le nommé Bourassa, ils

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post to enter on such a war, his orders being to maintain the savages in peace, union and tranquillity. I drew his attention to the passage where he had observed that if he had gone himself that might have had some grave result; he answered that he would not send any more men [on such an expedition].

I made enquiry, Monseigneur, respecting all that took place, and I learnt that the savages of the Sieur de la Vérendrye's post had attacked the so-called Mascoutens Poüanes, who called out: 'Who is killing us?' to which they answered: 'It is the Frenchman.' At once they resolved on vengeance, and put into practice all possible means for accomplishing it. Although the Sieur de la Vérendrye had by this time returned, the first step taken counted for as much as if he had been then on the spot.

In the beginning of June last a party of Prairie Sioux to the number of one hundred and thirty men found the canoe of Father Aulneau, which was being conducted by a

prirent tous les françois et mirent au poteau le conducteur pour le faire brusler, il avoit heureusement pour lui une esclave de cette nation qu'il avoit acheptée des Monsonis, elle dit à ses gens : Mes parens qu'allez vous faire, je dois la vie à ce françois, il ne m'a fait que du bien, si vous avez envie de vous venger du coup qui a esté fait sur nous, vous n'avez qu'à aller plus loin, vous trouverez vingt quatre françois dont le fils du chef qui nous a tué est du nombre, Ils relaschèrent Bourassa et ses engagez et furent détruire le convoy en entier.

Voilà, Monseigneur, un coup très fâcheux et qui pourroit bien faire abandonner tous les établissements qui sont de ce costé là.

Le S[ieur] De la Véranderie m'ayant marqué avant de le sçavoir que je ne trouvasse pas mauvais (quoyque sans ordre),

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man named Bourassa.[1] They captured all the Frenchmen and fastened the conductor of the canoe to a stake, meaning to burn him. Happily for him he had a female slave of that tribe who said to her people : 'My friends, what are you going to do ? I owe my life to this Frenchman : he has done me nothing but good : if you want to be avenged for the attack made on you, you have only to go further on and you will find twenty-four Frenchmen, amongst whom is the son of their chief, the one who slaughtered us.' Thereupon they released Bourassa and his hired men and went and destroyed the entire convoy.

That, Monseigneur, was a most grievous blow, and one which might well lead to the abandonment of all the posts in that region.

The Sieur de la Vérendrye hinted to me before he knew of the disaster that he hoped I would not object,

[1] Probably René Bourassa, born Montreal, 1688. He was engaged in the western fur trade ; settled at Michilimackinac ; and his daughter Charlotte married Charles Langlade, the first settler in what afterwards became the State of Wisconsin. See his memoir, p. 262.

qu'il s'en vengeast, j'ay de la peine à croire pour peu qu'il réfléchisse qu'il prenne un party aussy contraire au bien de service.

Je suis avec un très profond respect, Monseigneur
Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur
BEAUHARNOIS.

A Quebec le 14. 8^{bre}. 1736.

2 Juin 1736.

Memoire du S^{r}. De la Veranderie, Lieutenant des troûpes et Commandant aux postes de l'ouest, Présenté à Monsieur le Marquis de Beauharnois, Gouverneur General de la Nouvelle France pour être envoyé en Cour.

J'ay dêjà eû l'honneur, Monsieur, de vous informer de tout ce qui s'etoit passé depuis mon départ de Montreal en juin 1735 jusqu'au deux de juin 1736 que partit du fort

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though he had no orders to that effect, if he took vengeance for the deed. I find it hard to believe that, if he gave the very least reflection to the matter, he would think of following a course so contrary to the good of the service.

I am with most profound respect, Monseigneur,
Your very humble and very obedient servant,
BEAUHARNOIS.

Report of the Sieur de la Vérendrye, Lieutenant of the troops and Commandant of the posts of the West.

Presented to
Monsieur the Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor-General of New France, to be sent to the Court.

June 2, 1736.

I have already had the honour, Monsieur, to inform you of all that happened from the time of my departure from Montreal in June 1735 to the second of June, 1736, when the Sieur Bourassa left the fort St. Charles at the Lake of

S[t] Charles Lac des Bois le S. Bourassa, je continueray mon journal avec la même exactitude, afin de vous instruire, Monsieur, de tout ce qui s'est passé depuis aud[it] fort et ses dépendances.

Le même jour deux juin 1736 arriverent du fort de Maurepas deux de mes enfans que j'y avois envoyés le 27[e] fevrier précédent avec deux soldats pour la garde du fort, comme j'ay eû l'honneur de vous marquer, ils m'aprirent la triste nouvelle de la mort de mon neveu de la Gemeraye arrivée le dix may à la Fourche des Roseaux, j'ay mis une croix sur la carte que j'ay faite pour marquer ce lieu ; ils me dirent que la charge de leurs quatre canots etoit restée en cache à vingt lieües d'icy au portage de la Savanne.

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the Woods.[1] I shall continue my journal with the same exactness in order to acquaint you, Monsieur, with all that has since occurred at the said fort and its dependencies.

On the same day, the second of June 1736, there arrived from fort Maurepas two of my sons whom I had sent, on the 27th of the preceding February, with two soldiers for the protection of the fort, as I have had the honour to inform you. They brought me the sad news of the death of my nephew La Jemeraye which occurred on the tenth of May at the Fourche des Roseaux. I have made a cross on the map I have drawn to mark the place. They told me that the cargo of their four canoes had been left in a cache twenty leagues from here at the Savanne portage.[2]

[1] This journal, covering the period from June 1736 to August 1737, is in continuation of one, here referred to, extending from June 1735 to June 1736. This earlier journal is missing, as well as that for 1734–35.

[2] Roseau river rises in great swamps west of the Lake of the Woods, and on or about the present international boundary, and empties into Red river a few miles north of the boundary. On La Vérendrye's 1737 map the river is shown, with a portage from Lake of the Woods, marked as Portage de la Savane, and its junction with Red river is marked as La Fourche. This is interesting as indicating that La Vérendrye's people had discovered and were using two routes from Lake of the Woods to the Red river, one by way of Winnipeg river and Lake Winnipeg, and the other by the Roseau river.

Le lendemain trois juin arriverent les trois autres canots, qui laisserent deux hommes pour garder les paquêts.

Le même jour je tins un Conseil general pour déliberer sur les moyens d'avoir des vivres, des marchandises, et surtout de la poûdre dont nous manquions par la faute des canots de Montréal qui avoient relâché l'automne précédente ; il fût résolû d'une commûne voix d'envoyer trois canots forts de monde à Kamanistigoüia, dont nous attendions le secours, et de la a Missilimakinac pour revenir en diligence, et me mettre en etat de poursuivre ma découverte ; Le R.P. Auneau me demanda d'y aller et de luy donner mon fils aîné pour faire faire diligence aux canots tant pour aller que revenir.

Le quatre juin j'apris par un engagé qui venoit du fort de Maurepas, que dans le mois de janvier il y etoit venû un Koüathéatte blanc deguisé en Assiniboils, parlant cette

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On the following day, the third of June, the three other canoes arrived : they had left two men behind to guard the packages.

On the same day I held a council to deliberate as to the means of obtaining provisions, goods, and above all powder, of which we were short through the non-arrival of the canoes from Montreal which had stopped on the way last autumn. It was unanimously resolved to send three canoes well manned to Kaministikwia, whence we were expecting relief, and from there to Michilimackinac, the same canoes to return with all diligence and give me the means of pursuing my discovery. The Reverend Father Aulneau asked to be allowed to go, and that I would attach my eldest son to the expedition to see that no time was lost on the way, either going or returning.

On the fourth of June I learnt by a hired man who came from fort Maurepas that in the month of January a white Kouathéatte[1] had come disguised as an Assiniboin and

[1] Mandan.

langue, il demanda de coucher dans le fort disant qu'il n'étoit pas sauvage comme les autres, mais mon neveu etant très mal ne fût point averty, et soit faute de bien entendre la langue, soit faute d'attention, celuy qui étoit chargé de fermer les portes, le mit dehors comme les autres, sans parler à personne, que plusieurs jours après son départ, ce qui m'a fait une peine infinie.

Le 5^{e} juin après la reveüe des armes, et la distribution de la poudre et des balles aux vingt hommes du convoy, je leur recommanday de se bien garder, que j'avois eû avis qu'il y avoit un party de Scioux dans le Lac qui cherchoient des Crys, et qu'ils pourroient peut-être les insulter, ils repondirent tous d'une voix de me tranquiliser, qu'ils etoient résolûs de faire bon quart.

Le R.P. Auneau s'embarqua avec six bons hommes que j'avois engagés pour revenir de Missilimakinac, et m'acompagner dans ma découverte, les autres s'embarquerent sept

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talking that language. He asked leave to sleep in the fort, saying that he was not a savage like the rest. My nephew, however, being very sick was not notified: and either from not understanding the language or from inattention, the man whose duty it was to close the gates put him out like the others without saying a word about it to any one till several days after he had gone, which I regretted extremely.

On the fifth of June after an inspection of arms and the distribution of powder and ball to the twenty men of the convoy, I advised them to be on their guard as I had learnt that there was a party of Sioux in the lake who were looking for Cree and who might perhaps do them some harm; with one accord they replied that I might make my mind easy, as they meant to keep a sharp look-out.

The Reverend Father Aulneau embarked with six good men whom I had engaged to return from Michilimackinac and accompany me in my explorations. The others em-

dans chaque canot, tous a demie charge pour faire diligence, n'ayant pû refûser mon fils aîné que le R.P. me demanda.

Le six dans l'inquietude où j'étois des deux hommes qui avoient restés auprès des paquêts j'envoyay mon fils avec cinq hommes les chercher avec ordre d'aporter icy tout ce qui apartenoit à mon neveû.

Le 12e trois Monsonis m'ont dit que Bourassa ayant eté rencontré par un party Scioux avoit eté pillé sans autre mal le 4e au matin. Le 13e mon fils que j'avois envoyé à la Savanne est arrivé avec ses hommes et les deux qui avoient restés.

Le 14e j'ay reçeû une lettre du fort St Pierre ecritte par Bourassa le 6e qui marque le détail de sa prise par les Scioux à douze lieües d'icy ; il leur demanda pourquoy ils l'arrêtoient, vu qu'ils etoient freres et bons amis, ils repondirent que

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barked seven in each canoe, all being only half loaded so as to make speed ; and my eldest son went with them, as I could not refuse him to the reverend Father, who had asked for him.

On the sixth as I was uneasy about the two men who had remained with the packages, I sent my son with five men to look for them, with orders to bring here everything that had belonged to my nephew.

On the twelfth three Monsoni told me that Bourassa having been met by a party of Sioux had been robbed, but not otherwise injured, on the morning of the fourth. On the thirteenth my son, whom I had sent to La Savanne, arrived with his men and the two who had remained behind.

On the fourteenth I received a letter from fort St. Pierre written by Bourassa on the sixth which gave me details of his capture by the Sioux twelve leagues from here.[1] He asked them why they stopped him seeing they were brothers and good friends. They replied that it was the custom of

[1] See Bourassa's memoir, p. 262.

c'etoit la maniére des guerriers de ne connoître personne sur leur chemin, et qu'ils se plaignoient des françois qui donnoient des armes à leurs ennemis pour les tuer, il leur repliqua que les françois leur en donne bien aussy, ainsy ils le laissèrent aller.

Le dix-sept est arrivé le S^r^. Le Gras de Kamanistigoüia avec deux canots chargés de marchandises qui avoient relâché l'automne précédent, je n'eû rien de plus pressé que de luy demander des nouvelles du convoy, mais il n'en avoit eû aucûnes, j'ay eû l'honneur, Monsieur, de vous en ecrire le dix-huit par luy-même que je fis partir le dix-neuf, je le fis escorter par un canot de huit hommes, commandé par un sergent avec ordre de suivre le chemin que nos gens avoient tenû.

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warriors not to know any one when on the march, and that they had a grievance against the French for distributing arms to their enemies wherewith to kill them. He rejoined that the French gave them arms in just the same way, and so they let him go.

On the seventeenth the Sieur le Gras [1] arrived from Kaministikwia with two canoes laden with merchandise which had stopped on the way last autumn. I eagerly inquired for news of the convoy, but he had none to give me. I had the honour, Monsieur, to write to you about it on the eighteenth, sending my letter by himself whom I despatched on the nineteenth. I caused him to be escorted by a canoe with a crew of eight men commanded by a sergeant with instructions to follow the road our people had taken.

[1] Daniel Legras, son of Jean, is described as interpreter. Dr. R. G. Thwaites (*Wis. Hist. Coll.* xvii. 270) says he was born 1698, and married at Kaskaskia. In a letter from Saint-Pierre to Beauharnois, dated from the post in the Sioux country, October 14, 1737, it is said that 'they heard of the defeat of the French of the post of de la Verenderie on the 23rd of August 1736, by two canoes of Saulteux of la Pointe who brought letters from the sieurs Nolan, Legras and Bourassa.' Jean Legras was a merchant of Montreal, born 1656. See Tanguay.

Le vingt arriverent trente Cristinaux chargés de leur chasse, qui se mirent aussitôt en chemin pour aller à la découverte, mais le gros vent devant les fit relâcher le vingt-un, ils s'en retournerent le vingt-deux après avoir traitté.

Le même jour vingt-deux, arriva le sergent et ses gens qui m'aporta la triste nouvelle du massâcre des vingt-un hommes, à sept lieües du fort dans une petite isle, où on a troûvé la plus grande partie des corps tous décolés, en rond les uns contre les autres, ce qui me fait jûger qu'ils ont eté tués en conseil, et les têtes envelopées dans des robes de castors.

Cette triste nouvelle s'étant répanduë, il arrivoit de tout côté des Cris et Monsonis pour s'informer de la verité du fait.

On the twentieth there arrived thirty Cree loaded with game they had killed, who immediately set out to join in the search; but a strong wind compelling them to give up the attempt on the twenty-first, they returned on the twenty-second after trading with us.

On the same day, the twenty-second, the sergeant and his men arrived bringing the sad news of the massacre of the twenty-one men seven leagues from the fort on a little island. Most of the bodies were found, all decapitated, and lying in a circle against one another, which made me to conclude that they were killed while holding counsel; the heads were wrapped in beaver skins.[1]

This melancholy news having got abroad, Cree and Monsoni came in from all sides to inquire as to the truth of the matter.

[1] For a detailed account of this massacre by the Sioux of Jean-Baptiste de la Vérendrye, Father Aulneau, and their men, on an island in the Lake of the Woods, see *The Lake of the Woods Tragedy* (*R.S.C. Trans.* 1903); also *The Aulneau Collection*, and Campbell, *Pioneer Priests of North America*, iii. 258 *et seq.*

Le vingt-six j'ai fait rétablir le fort S^{t} Charles et l'ay mis en etat que quatre hommes peuvent le deffendre contre cent.

Le neuf juillet il nous est arrivé quatre françois de Kamanistigoüia, qui faute de vivres ont laissé leurs marchandises en cache à quatre-vingt lieües d'icy.

Le 4^{e} août j'ay reçeû quatre deputés des Cris et Monsonis, qui m'ont dit que les chêfs des deux nations devoient venir icy l'automne prochaine, pour me mener à leur tête venger la mort de mon fils et des autres françois ; je leur ay répondû que j'attendrois auparavant les nouvelles de leur Pere, et que je lés leur ferois sçavoir ; Cependant, que je les remerçiois de leur bonne volonté, et de la part qu'ils prenoient à la mort de mon fils et de tous les françois.

Le six je fis partir mon fils avec huit hommes pour aller chercher les marchandises a quatre-vingt lieües d'icy, ce

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On the twenty-sixth I had fort St. Charles rebuilt and put it in such a condition that four men could defend it against a hundred.

On the ninth of July there came to us four Frenchmen from Kaministikwia, who owing to lack of food had left their goods in a cache eighty leagues from here.

On the fourth of August I received four deputies from the Cree and the Monsoni, who told me that the chiefs of the two tribes were to come here in the autumn in order to place me at their head and go to avenge the death of my son and the other Frenchmen. I replied that I would first wait to get word from their Father and that I would communicate it to them. I thanked them however for their goodwill and for the interest they took in the deaths of my son and all the Frenchmen.

On the sixth I despatched my son with eight men to go in quest of the goods eighty leagues from here. As you

sont, Monsieur, comme vous voyés, bien des inquietudes et des fatigues pour nous, et bien des frais qui n'accommodent pas la Société, sans compter le retardement.

Le onze août sont encore arrivés deux envoyés des Cris et Monsonis qui faisoient la récolte de la folle avoine, qui m'ont dit qu'ils ne cessoient tous de pleurer jour et nuit les femmes et les enfans, la mort de mon fils qu'ils avoient adopté pour chêf des deux nations, qu'ils étoient tous prêts à marcher, et qu'ils me demandoient vengeance, mais je leur ay fait la même réponce, le treize ils s'en retournerent très contens.

Le dix-huit, deux Monsonis ayant fait le tour du Lac des Bois, ont troûvé dans le sud, nos deux canots françois avec les paquets poûrris, et plus de vingt canots Sçioux attachés deux à deux dans lesquels il y avoit beaucoup de sang, ce qui marque qu'ils ont eû des blessés et peut-être des tüés,

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perceive, Monsieur, there are many things to cause us anxiety and fatigue and a great many expenses to incur which do not help the society, to say nothing of the delays they cause.

On the eleventh of August two more deputies arrived from the Cree and the Monsoni, who were then engaged in gathering in the crop of wild oats. They told me that they were all weeping incessantly day and night, they, their women and their children, for the death of my son whom they had adopted as chief of the two nations; that they were all ready to move against the enemy, and asked me for vengeance. I made them the same reply, and they went back on the thirteenth quite satisfied.

On the eighteenth two Monsoni, having made the circuit of the Lake of the Woods, found in the south our two French canoes with the rotten packages and over twenty Sioux canoes fastened together in twos and very bloody, which goes to show that they had some wounded and perhaps some killed,

car ils ont trouvé des membres d'hommes enterrés dans le sâble, le troisieme canot françois a été trouvé sur l'Isle du Massacre.

Le vingt-six sont arrivés quatre canots et douze hommes Cris et Assiniboils des environs du Lac Oüinipigon, les deux nations assemblées au fort de Maurepas, pour me prier instament de leur faire sçavoir si je suis dans le dessein d'aller venger le sang françois, et surtout celuy de mon fils qu'ils avoient adopté pour leur chêf dès le tems même qu'il construisoit ce fort chéz eux, qu'ils ne cessoient tous de le pleûrer, et qu'une grande partie de leurs gens alloit partir pour les prairies, pour se rendre à la pointe du bois fort, qui est le rendés-vous ordinaire des Assiniboils, Cris et Monsonis, distant environ de cinquante lieuës du fort S^{t} Charles, pour

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because they found limbs of men buried in the sand. The third French canoe was found on the Island of the Massacre.[1]

On the twenty-sixth four canoes and twelve men arrived, Cree and Assiniboin from the neighbourhood of Lake Winnipeg, the two tribes having assembled at fort Maurepas to beg me earnestly to let them know if I intend to go and avenge the blood of the French, and particularly that of my son, whom they had adopted as their chief from the time when he was building that fort in their country, and whose death they had all never ceased to bewail. A strong party of their people they said was going to start for the prairies and go to the Pointe du Bois fort[2] which was the usual rendezvous for Assiniboin, Cree and Monsoni, distant about fifty leagues

[1] Isle du Massacre appears on La Vérendrye's 1737 map and on other maps of the period. The supposed scene of the murder still bears the name. A cross was erected in 1890. The international water-boundary turns north between Oak Point and Massacre Island.

[2] Pointe du Bois fort is shown on La Vérendrye's map of 1737, on the Red river, some distance above its junction with the Assiniboine. It is not clear if this was a post built by some of La Vérendrye's party, or merely an Indian rendezvous to which this name had been given. If the former, possibly the account of its establishment may be contained in the missing journals of 1734–35 or 1735–36.

se rendre chés les Sçioux, qu'ils se flattoient de me voir, ou un de mes enfans à leur tête, qu'ils me prioient bien d'y envoyer au moins un canot pour leur porter de la poûdre, des balles et du tabac.

Le 3e septembre j'ay tenû un grand conseil avec La Colle grand Chêf des Monsonis, en réputation chés les Cris et Assiniboils, qu'il s'est acquise par son esprit et sa bravoûre ; La Mikoüenne Chef Cris, y etoit aussy, on a commencé par pleûrer les morts, ils m'ont proposé ensuite d'envoyer plusieurs petits partis de guerre contre les Sçioux, mais ayant fait reflexion que cela empêcheroit la chasse d'automne et la récolte de la folle avoine pour eux comme pour nous, je les ay remercié en leur disant, Mes enfans, je ne puis vous permettre d'aller en guerre jusqu'à ce que j'aye reçeû des nouvelles de votre Pere, dont je vous feray part, d'ailleurs vous sçavés que nous manquons de poûdre et de balles, par

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from fort St. Charles, in order to reach the Sioux ; and they hoped to see me or one of my sons at their head ; they begged me at least to send them a canoe with a supply of powder, ball and tobacco.

On the third of September I held a great council with La Colle, principal chief of the Monsoni, and in high repute also with the Cree and the Assiniboin, acquired through his intelligence and his bravery. La Mikouenne, a Cree chief, was also present.

The first thing done was to weep for the dead. They then proposed to me to send several small parties against the Sioux, but when I reflected that that would prevent the autumn hunting and the gathering of the wild oats for them as well as for us, I thanked them and said : 'My children, I cannot allow you to go to war until I have received word from your Father, which I will communicate to you. Besides you know that we are short of powder and

nos canots qui ont relâché, et comment entreprendre d'aller en guerre ? Mais ce que je troûve expedient, c'est d'envoyer une parole aux Monsonis du Lac Tekamamioüen, afin qu'etans assemblés ils aillent au-devant du convoy des françois pour l'escorter, et me donner icy cinquante hommes pour aller de même au-devant avec un canot françois, et cela tous les ans afin de n'etre point exposés à l'avenir aux insultes des Sçioux ; Je donnay pour cet effet à La Colle un collier pour être gardé par les Monsonis au fort S^{t} Pierre, et un second à la Mikoüenne, pour être gardé par les Cris au fort S^{t} Charles Lac des Bois, vingt brasses de tabac a chaque nation, poûdre et balles qui leur seront délivrées (gratis) tous les ans le printems et l'automne, Voila, Monsieur, les précautions que j'ay prises pour eviter à l'avenir toute surprise, Le tout a eté accordé d'une commûne voix, et s'est executé cet automne suivant mon projet.

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ball owing to our canoes not having come through, and how, in that case, can we venture to go to war ?

'But what I consider expedient is to send word to the Monsoni of Lake Tecamamiouen to form a party and go to meet the French convoy and escort it, and to let me have here fifty men to meet them likewise with one French canoe, and that annually, so that we may not in future be exposed to the aggressions of the Sioux.'

For that purpose I gave a collar to La Colle to be kept by the Monsoni at fort St. Pierre, and another to La Mikouenne to be kept by the Cree at fort St. Charles, Lake of the Woods ; while twenty fathoms of tobacco, together with powder and ball, will be delivered gratis to each tribe every spring and autumn. Such, Monsieur, are the precautions which I have taken to guard against any surprise in the future. The whole was agreed to unanimously and was carried into effect this autumn as I had planned.

Le 14e septembre arriverent deux canots Cris et Assiniboils venans du fort de Maurepas, pour me demander de la part des deux nations d'envoyer des canots chés eux pour leur porter leurs besoins, je leur accorday d'abord un canot de six hommes commandé par mon fils le Chevalier, qu'ils accompagnerent jusqu'au d[it] fort, je luy donnay par ecrit l'instruction suivant vos ordres.

1°. De tenir tous les sauvages en paix jusqu'a nouvel ordre.

2°. Leur faire esperer du secours à l'arrivée des canots de Montréal.

3°. Sitôt le secours arrivé, de partir avec six françois, quarante ou cinquante Assiniboils pour aller reconnoître les Oüachipoüanes, dits aujourd'huy Koüathéattes, hommes blancs et policés qui sêment et résident dans des forts et des maisons, et qui ne sont suivant l'estime des Sauvages qu'à cent cinquante lieuës du fort de Maurepas, je luy remis une

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On the fourteenth of September two canoes of Cree and Assiniboin came from fort Maurepas to request me, on behalf of the two nations, to send some canoes to them with a supply of necessary articles. I let them have at first one canoe with six men commanded by my son the Chevalier, whom they accompanied as far as the said fort, and to whom I gave instructions as follows, according to your order :

1. To keep all the savages at peace till otherwise ordered.

2. To hold out to them hope of assistance when the canoes arrive from Montreal.

3. As soon as supplies arrive to leave with six Frenchmen and forty or fifty Assiniboin in order to reconnoitre the Ouachipouennes, now called Kouathéattes, a race of men white in colour and civilized, who till the soil and live in forts and houses, and who, according to the reckoning of the savages, live not more than a hundred and fifty leagues distant

cassette garnie de tout ce qui peut faire plaisir a cette nation avec les habillemens, tabac, haches, colliers et pavillon françois.

4°. D'engager les Koüathéattes d'envoyer au fort de Maurepas des depûtés de leur nation pour faire alliance avec les françois.

5°. De leur dire, que le Commandant étant très mal, lorsqu'un de leurs hommes y vint l'hyver precedent, il n'en fut averty qu'après son départ, ce qui l'avoit très mortiffié et tous les françois avec luy, le déffaut d'entendre la langue fût cause de cette méprise.

6°. Enfin de dire aux Assiniboils et Cris, que je me troûverois a leur fort dans la grande lune qui est celle de Janvier, de les inviter tous à s'y troûver, et que la je leur ferois connoître toutes les intentions de nôtre Pere, le grand chef de tous les françois.

Le dix-sept septembre j'ay fait partir le sergent avec six

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from fort Maurepas. I gave him a box filled with all kinds of things such as might please those people, together with clothing, tobacco, axes, collars, and a French flag.

4. To invite the Kouathéattes to send to fort Maurepas envoys of their tribe to form an alliance with the French.

5. To tell them that the commandant of the fort being very ill when one of their people came the previous winter, he was not notified of it till after the man was gone, and that he and all the French who were with him were greatly mortified when they heard of it: the misunderstanding arose from want of knowledge of the language the man spoke.

6. Finally to tell the Assiniboin and Cree that I would be at their fort at the time of the great moon, which is in January, and to invite them all to be there, and that I would then inform them fully of the intentions of our Father, the great chief of all the French.

On the seventeenth of September I despatched the

hommes pour aller lêver les corps du R.P. Auneau et de mon fils, et le 18e je les ay fait enterrer dans la chapelle, avec toutes les têtes des françois tüés, qu'ils aportêrent aussy suivant l'ordre que je leur en avois donné.

Le neuf octobre j'ay reçeû une lettre du Chevalier de La Veranderie dattée de vingt lieuës du fort de Maurepas qui me marque avoir rencontré quantité de Sauvages qu'il a menés avec luy, qu'il esperoit se rendre en deux jours, et que grand nombre de Sauvages etoient dêjà partis pour le rendes-vous de la guerre à la pointe du Bois fort.

Le quinze octobre sont arrivés neuf canots du fort de Maurepas, Cris et Assiniboils qui demanderent à parler ; L'après midy j'ay tenu le Conseil dans ma chambre avec tous le chêfs qui se sont troûvés icy, le Chêf Cris chargé de la parole des deux Nations me dit.

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sergeant with six men to go and raise the bodies of the Reverend Father Aulneau and my son, and on the eighteenth I had them buried in the chapel, together with the heads of all the Frenchmen killed, which they also brought in accordance with my orders.[1]

On the ninth of October I received a letter from the Chevalier de la Vérendrye, dated twenty leagues from fort Maurepas, informing me that he had met a lot of savages whom he had taken with him, that he hoped to arrive in two days, and that a great number of savages had already left for the fighting rendezvous at the Pointe du Bois fort.

On the fifteenth of October a party of Cree and Assiniboin in nine canoes arrived from fort Maurepas. They asked to speak, and I accordingly held a council in the afternoon in my room with all the chiefs who happened to be here. The Cree chief, instructed to speak on behalf of both tribes, said :

[1] In July 1908 a party from St. Boniface College, St. Boniface, Manitoba, discovered the site of fort St. Charles, as described in a previous footnote. In August of the same year they discovered the skeletons of Father Aulneau and La Vérendrye, with the skulls of the voyageurs, under the ruins of the chapel.

Premiere Parole.

Mon Pere nous t'avons dêjà mandé plusieurs fois que nous avions le cœur malade, et que nous ne cessions de pleûrer la mort de ton fils et des françois, que nous y etions plus sensibles que si nous eûssions été tués nous mêmes ; que nous sommes dans le dessein de nous venger, et que nous venons t'inviter de venir à nôtre tête, Si tu ne peux marcher, nous te porterons ; nous invitons aussy La Colle et tous les Cris et Monsonis. Il y a dêjà huit cent hommes Cris et Assiniboils rendûs a la pointe du Bois fort qui nous attendent.

Seconde Parole.

Mon Pere, nous sommes bien malheureux de ce que la mort des françois retarde la joÿe que nous aurions tous, d'avoir un fort dans le fond du Lac Oüinipigon, comme tu nous l'avois promis, pour y troûver nos besoins et celuy

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First Word.

My father, we have already sent you word many times that we were sick at heart and were incessantly weeping for the death of your son and the other Frenchmen ; that we felt it more than if we had been killed ourselves ; and that it is our purpose to take vengeance for the deed. We are here now to invite you to lead us. If you cannot walk we will carry you ; we invite La Colle also and all the Cree and Monsoni. Eight hundred Cree and Assiniboin already assembled at Pointe du Bois fort are awaiting us.

Second Word.

My father, it is very unfortunate for us that the death of the Frenchmen is delaying the happiness we looked forward to of having a fort established at the end of Lake Winnipeg as you promised us, so as to enable us to supply our needs

de nos familles, c'est ce qui nous excite encore à nous venger.

Troisieme Parole.

Mon Pere, nous te demandons en grace de nous accorder pour l'hyvernement, un de tes enfans au fort de Maurepas, et de nous permettre d'adopter ton fils le Chevalier pour notre chêf a la place de son frere, je remis au-lendemain la réponse suivant la coutûme.

Le dix-huit octobre après avoir conféré en particulier avec La Colle, homme d'esprit et de jugement, et la Mikoüenne chêf d'une partie des Cris, je leur ay fait les réponses suivantes.

1°. Sçachés mes enfans, que les francois n'entreprenent jamais la guerre, sans avoir consulté leur Pere, et ne la font que par son ordre, vous voyés que quelqu'offencé que je sois, j'ay les bras liés.

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and those of our families. That is another thing that excites us to vengeance.

Third Word.

My father, we ask you as a favour to let one of your sons winter with us at fort Maurepas, and to let us adopt your son, the Chevalier, as our chief in the place of his brother.

In accordance with custom I deferred my reply till the next day.

On the eighteenth of October, after having had a private consultation with La Colle, a man of intelligence and good judgment, and La Mikouenne, chief of a band of the Cree, I made the following replies.

1. Know, my children, that the French never undertake war without having consulted their Father and only do it by his order : you see therefore that, however angry I may be, my arms are tied.

2°. Je vous remercie de la part que vous prenés a la mort des françois, et en particulier a celle de mon fils qui vous aimoit sincerement.

3°. Vous sçavés que les françois sont chés les Sçioux, il ne faut pas pour venger le sang françois, le répandre de nouveau, vous ne pouriés être maîtres de vos jeunes gens, et quand vous les épargneriés, pouroient-ils s'échaper des Sçioux, qui se vengeroient encore une fois sur eux ; de la je conclud qu'il faut remettre cette guerre a un tems plus favorable, j'invite La Colle, La Mikoüenne et tous les chêfs de se rendre a mes raisons qui sont justes.

4°. Il y a longtems que je désire d'aller sur vos terres au fort de Maurepas, j'iray sûrement l'hiver prochain, et la je vous feray part de la volonté de notre Pere.

5°. Enfin quelqu'offencé que je sois, et quelque malade que j'ait le cœur, la seule pensée d'aller en guerre avec trois nations braves que j'aime, si j'étois libre, et de me troûver

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2. I thank you for the interest you take in the death of the French and particularly in that of my son who loved you sincerely.

3. You know that there are Frenchmen dwelling with the Sioux. We must not therefore avenge French blood by shedding it anew. You could not control your young men, and, even should you spare them, could they escape from the Sioux who would take a second vengeance on them ? Hence I conclude that we must defer this war to a more favourable time. I would ask La Colle, La Mikouenne and all the chiefs to bow to my reasons, which are well founded.

4. I have long wished to visit your country and fort Maurepas, and I shall certainly go next winter, and there I shall inform you of the wishes of our Father.

5. Finally, however injured I feel, and however sick at heart I may be, the simple thought of going to war were I free to do so, followed by three brave tribes whom I love,

a la tête de tant de bons guerriers et de chêfs expérimentés, seroit capable de guérir mon cœur, et de me combler de gloire, mais je suis retenû par les raisons cy dessus.

La Colle ayant conféré sur le champ avec les chêfs des trois nations, répond au nom de toutes et me présente un collier, me disant, mon Pere lorsque tu es venû sur nos terres, tu nous as aporté nos besoins, tu nous as promis de continüer, nous n'avons manqué de rien pendant deux ans, mais maintenant nous manquons de tout par la faute des traitteurs, tu nous as déffendu d'aller aux Anglois, nous t'avons obeÿ, et si aujourd'huy nous sommes contraints d'y aller chercher fusils, poûdre, chaudieres, tabac etc. tu ne dois t'en prendre qu'a tes gens.

Ce collier-la est pour te dire d'aller toy-même voir nôtre Pere à Montréal, et luy représenter nos besoins, afin qu'il ait pitié de nous, tu l'assureras que nous sommes ses véri-

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and to see myself at the head of so many good warriors and experienced chiefs, would suffice to heal my heart and cover me with glory; but I am held back by the reasons I have mentioned.

La Colle, having conferred on the spot with the chiefs of the three tribes, replies in the name of all and presents me with a collar, saying: My Father, when you came into our land you brought us things that we needed, and promised to continue doing so. For two years we lacked nothing, now we lack everything through default on the part of the traders. You forbade us to go to the English and we obeyed you, and if now we are compelled to go there to get guns, powder, kettles, tobacco, etc., you must only blame your own people.

This collar is to tell you to go yourself to see our Father at Montreal and represent our needs to him so that he may have pity on us. You will assure him that we are his true

tables enfans, ayant tous le cœur françois depuis que nous le connoissons, nous te donnons le frere de la Mikoüenne pour t'accompagner, il parlera a nôtre Pere au nom des trois nations, en attendant ton retour nous resterons icy avec tes enfans pour garder tes forts, et le printems prochain nous marcherons tous en guerre contre les Sçioux pour venger le sang françois qui est le nôtre, et pour mettre tes enfans a couvert de toute insulte, ce n'est plus toy qui t'en mêle, c'est moy et les chêfs des trois nations, nous te prions de nous envoyer de Missilimakinac la parole de nôtre Pere, afin que nous puissions luy obeïr et la suivre.

Le Chêf Cris deputé des deux nations du fort de Maurepas se lêve et dit, Je te remercie mon Pere du présent que tu fais aux guerriers pour les arrêter, je leur diray ta parole a la pointe du Bois fort ou ils sont assemblés, et a tous ceux qui doivent se joindre, mais ils sont si animés contre les

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children, having all a French heart ever since we have known him. We give you the brother of La Mikouenne to accompany you ; he will speak to our Father in the name of the three tribes. While awaiting your return we shall remain here with your children to keep your forts, and next spring we shall all go on a campaign against the Sioux to avenge the shedding of French blood, which is our own, and to protect your children against aggression. It is no longer you who are taking any part in it, it is I and the chiefs of the three tribes. We beg you to send us from Michilimackinac the word of our Father in order that we may obey and follow it.

The Cree chief, as deputy of the two tribes of fort Maurepas, then rises and says : I thank you, my Father, for the present you are making to the warriors to stop them. I will report what you say to the men who are assembled at Pointe du Bois fort and to all who may join them ; but they

Sçioux que je ne sçay pas s'ils l'ecouteront, je feray cependant mon possible pour la leur faire entendre et pour les arrêter, je leur diray que tu desire les voir cet hyver a ton fort, et qu'ils y portent des viandes et des graisses.

Le dix-huit les guerriers pour ne pas manquer a leur parole, sont partis avec les envoyés, pour la pointe du Bois fort.

Le vingt-deux octobre sont arrivés de Missilimakinac six canots aléges, et vingt-neuf hommes, ils m'ont dit avoir laissé a la riviere du Vermillon le peu de marchandises qu'ils avoient entrées dans les terres, à laquelle ont resté Bourassa

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are so inflamed against the Sioux that I don't know whether they will heed your counsels. I will, however, do my best to make them understand the matter and to stop them. I will tell them that you wish to see them this winter at your fort and ask them to bring meats and fats.

On the eighteenth the warriors with the envoys left for Pointe du Bois fort so as not to fail of their promise.

On the twenty-second of October six canoes arrived light from Michilimackinac with twenty-nine men. They told me that they had left at Vermilion river[1] the small quantity of merchandise which they had brought up, and that Bourassa and Eustache[2] were remaining in charge of

[1] Vermilion lake is a narrow body of water on the Grand Portage canoe route, east of Lake Namakan. From Basswood lake, to the eastward of Vermilion, a series of waterways leads south into what was once the Sioux country. Between Basswood and Vermilion, on Crooked lake, is a rock, described both by Alexander Henry the younger and, before him, by Sir Alexander Mackenzie. The latter says: 'A remarkable rock, with a smooth face, but split and cracked in different parts, which hang over the water. Into one of its horizontal chasms a great number of arrows have been shot, which is said to have been done by a war party of Nadowasis or Sioux, who had done much mischief in this country, and had left these weapons as a warning to the Chebois' (La Vérendrye's Sauteux, or Saulteur, the Ojibway or Chippewa). This may serve to identify present Vermilion lake with the Vermilion river of La Vérendrye.

[2] Probably a Christian name—impossible to identify.

et Eustache avec douze hommes dans le dessein d'y hyverner au préjudice du fort S[t] Pierre et y traitter avec les Sauteux (Nota.—Que cette riviere est sur le chemin des ennemis) je fis partir aussy-tôt un sauvage a qui je donnay quarante castors pour leur porter vos ordres, afin de les obliger de se rendre incessamment au fort S[t] Pierre avec déffences d'hyverner a la d[itte] riviere du Vermillon.

Le vingt-quatre se tint le dernier conseil avec les Cris et Monsonis des environs du Lac des Bois, pour les congédier, je commencay, Monsieur, par leur notiffier vos ordres qu'ils reçûrent avec grand respect ; je leur dis ensuite les nouvelles de France et de Canada, auxquelles ils pouvoient prendre part, qu'ils ecoûterent avec grande attention et un vray plaisir, je leur fis present de poûdre, balles, tabac etc. pour les mettre en etat de bien chasser l'hyver, je leur promis de les faire avertir pour se troûver au fort quand les Assini-

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it with twelve men, their intention being to winter there to the injury of fort St. Pierre and to trade with the Saulteur. (*Note.*—This river is on the route taken by our enemies.) I immediately despatched a savage to whom I gave forty beaver skins to carry your orders to them to go at once to fort St. Pierre and to forbid them to winter at Vermilion river.

On the twenty-fourth the last council was held with the Cree and Monsoni of the country round the Lake of the Woods in order to take leave of them. I commenced, Monsieur, by notifying them of your orders, which they received with much respect. I then gave them such news from France and Canada as could interest them, to which they listened with great attention and real pleasure, made them a present of powder, ball, tobacco, etc., to enable them to do some good hunting during the winter, promising to give them notice so that they might be at the fort when the

boils qui y devoient venir seroient arrivés, je les renvoyay tous contens, ils me firent présent de dix a douze sacs de folle-avoine pour me remercier.

Après le départ des Sauvages, je proposay aux commis de la Societé d'envoyer au fort de Maurepas, deux ou trois canots, comme je l'avois promis a mon fils, ils me repondirent qu'ils n'avoient point d'ordre d'envoyer au d[it] fort, et qu'ils me prioient de faire revenir les cinq hommes qui y etoient dont ils avoient besoin, je leur proposay aussy d'envoyer chercher les paquêts qu'on avoit été obligé de mettre en cache le printems au portage de la Savanne, ils me répondirent qu'il falloit attendre les glaces.

Le vingt-six je fis battre la generalle, et quand tous les françois fûrent assemblés au nombre de trente-six, je fis pûblier vos ordres. Ensuite je reglay toutes choses et assignay a chacun son poste pour la garde et sûreté du fort

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Assiniboin arrived. I sent them away happy, and they made me a present of ten or twelve bags of wild oats in token of their thanks.

After the departure of the savages I proposed to the clerks of the company to send to fort Maurepas two or three canoes, as I had promised my son I should do. They replied that they had no order to send to the said fort and begged me to recall the five men who were there, as they had need of them. I proposed to them also to send for the packages of goods which it had been necessary to put in cache in the spring at the Savanne portage: They replied that they would have to wait till the rivers were frozen.

On the twenty-sixth I beat the general [1] and, when all the French had assembled to the number of thirty-six, I caused your orders to be published. Then I arranged everything, assigning to each man his place for the defence and safety

[1] In other words, he ordered the drummer to beat the general assembly.

la nuit comme le jour, tant pour l'ennemy que pour le feu ; et pour rendre justice a tout le monde, dans la reveuë je demanday aux bourgeois et commis s'ils avoient des plaintes a me faire des engagés, et a ceux-cy s'ils étoient contens de ceux-la, et s'ils leur donnoient le nécessaire.

Le quatre novembre je fis battre la generalle et fis mettre sous les armes tous les françois et Sauvages qui se troûverent au fort, pour le feu de joÿe en l'honneur de S^t^ Charles vôtre patron ou chacun fit ses trois décharges, Ensuite les Boëttes tirerent comme de coutûme trois fois l'année, a la S^t^ Jean, a la S^t^ Loüis et a la S^t^ Charles.

Le même jour arriva l'envoyé de La Colle chêf des Monsonis pour me dire qu'il portoit de sa part a la pointe du

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of the fort day and night against both the enemy and fire ; and, in order to do justice to every one, I enquired, when making the inspection, of the merchants and the clerks whether they had any complaints to make of the hired men, and of the latter whether they were satisfied with the former, and were having their wants properly supplied by them.

On the fourth of November I beat the general and made all the French and the savages at the fort parade with arms to fire a *feu de joie* in honour of St. Charles your patron saint ; every man fired three rounds. Then the bombs were fired,[1] the custom being to fire them off three times a year on the fête days of St. John, St. Louis and St. Charles.[2]

On the same day there arrived a messenger from La Colle, chief of the Monsoni, to tell me that he (La Colle)

[1] This is the first indication that La Vérendrye had anything more formidable than muskets for the defence of his forts. That bombs were used in the western forts we know from several of the French narratives, such, for instance, as the account of the siege of Detroit in 1712 attributed to Chaussegros de Léry (*Coll. de Manusc. relat. à la Nouvelle France*, pp. 622–25).

[2] St. Jean Baptiste was and is the patron saint of French Canada ; St. Louis was no doubt honoured for the sake of the king ; and St. Charles because, as mentioned above, he was the patron saint of the Governor, Beauharnois.

Bois fort un bout de tabac aux guerriers pour les arrêter, je luy en donnay un semblable dans la même vuë, affin de joindre ma parole à la sienne.

Le vingt-six j'ay envoyé mon fils avec vingt-six hommes pour aller chercher les paquets du portage de la Savanne, les glaces etant bonnes sans neiges, ils sont arrivés le trois decembre, ils ont trouvé vingt-six paquets de moins, pris nouvellement par les Sauvages, et portés aux Anglois, Nota que sy on y avoit eté quand je le proposay ; la Societé n'auroit pas fait cette perte.

Le huit j'ay fait la reveuë, pour détacher dix francois et deux de mes enfans pour se disposer à m'accompagner au fort de Maurepas, n'ayant reçeû aucune nouvelle de mon fils depuis son arrivée aud[it] fort, avec ordre de revenir incessamment me porter des nouvelles, désirant partir a

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was on his own behalf carrying to Pointe du Bois fort a roll of tobacco for the warriors to keep them from going to war. I gave the man a similar quantity to the same intent, so as to add my voice to his.

On the twenty-sixth I sent my son with twenty-six men to bring the packages from the Savanne portage, the ice now being good and free from snow. They arrived on the third of December and found twenty-six packages missing, the savages having taken them a short time before and carried them to the English. Note, that, if they had gone for them when I first proposed it, the company would not have sustained this loss.

On the eighth [of December] I held an inspection, in order to detach ten Frenchmen and two of my sons to prepare to accompany me to fort Maurepas, as I had not received any news of my son since his arrival at the said fort, though he had orders to return immediately and bring any news, as I desired to start [for the east] on their return. I made

leur retour, je les ay fait passer par le portage de la Savanne, et de la, par le travers des terres, gagner la riviere Rouge.

Le vingt-deux sont arrivés trois françois de la riviere du Vermillon, qui m'ont aporté des lettres de Bourassa et Eustache, par lesquelles ils s'excusent de ce qu'ils n'ont pû exécuter vos ordres, ne les ayans reçeûs qu'a la Toussaint, ils me mandent qu'un grand nombre de Sauteux se sont réfugiés auprès d'eux par la crainte des Sçioux, ils les ont fort questionnés pour sçavoir d'eux de quelle maniere les françois avoient été tüés, mais ils n'ont rien voûlu dire, quoyque parmy eux, il y eût un Sauteux qui etoit à ce malheureux coup.

Le vingt-sept le S^r^. Doüere l'un des commis de la Societé, m'ayant demandé d'aller avec six hommes a la riviere du Vermillon, je le luy ay permis, et l'ay chargé d'une lettre par laquelle j'enjoignois a Bourassa et Eustache de faire un

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my party travel by the Savanne portage, whence we crossed over to the Red river.[1]

On the twenty-second three Frenchmen arrived from Vermilion river bringing me letters from Bourassa and Eustache in which they excused themselves for not having executed your orders on the ground that they had only received them on All Saints' Day. They inform me that a great number of Saulteur have sought refuge with them through fear of the Sioux. They questioned them closely in order to ascertain how the Frenchmen had been killed, but they were unwilling to say, though amongst them there was one Saulteur who had been present at the tragedy.

On the twenty-seventh the Sieur Douère,[2] one of the clerks of the company, having asked to be allowed to go with six men to Vermilion river, I granted him permission and entrusted him with a letter in which I instructed Bourassa

[1] See footnote, p. 214.

[2] Probably one of the sons of Augustin Douaire de Bondy, or of Jacques Douaire de Bondy, for whom see Tanguay, *Dictionnaire généalogique*.

petit fort autour des deux maisons, pour etre moins exposés, et dès le petit printems d'envoyer au fort S^t^ Pierre des marchandises pour traiter avec les Sauvages qui ont coutûme d'y venir, et pour réparer le fort dont les allans et venans ont fait brûler plusieurs pieux.

1737.

Le deux janvier sont arrivés cinq hommes du Bois fort, ou il y avoit plus de deux cent loges de guerriers, ils m'ont dit avoir reçeû l'envoyé de La Colle, et obeÿ a sa parole et a la mienne, ainsy a été rompû selon vos intentions ce fameux party de guerre.

Comme ils se séparoient est arrivé un Cris du fort de Maurepas qui a dit que les françois s'y portoient bien, mais

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and Eustache to construct a little fort around the two houses [1] so as to be less exposed to attack, and in the early spring to send goods to fort St. Pierre to exchange with the savages who are accustomed to resort thither, and also to repair the fort, several of the stakes having been burnt by people coming and going.

1737.

On the second of January five men arrived from Bois fort where there were more than two hundred lodges of warriors. They reported having received the man sent by La Colle and having obeyed his instructions and mine; and thus, in accordance with your intentions, this famous war party was broken up.

As they were separating a Cree arrived from fort Maurepas, who said that the French there were in good health,

[1] This must have been merely a temporary stockade, as the fort does not appear on any of La Vérendrye's maps, nor is it elsewhere mentioned.

qu'ils étoient fort en peine des canots et secours qu'on leur avoit promis pour l'automne et dont ils n'avoient eû aucune nouvelle.

Le seize l'envoyé de La Colle qui a passé par les Assiniboils dit que les deux nations sont actuellement a la chasse du bœuf pour faire des viandes et des graisses pour le fort, il en arrive tous les jours ainsy chargés.

Le trente un le sauvage Cris que j'avois loué et arrêté dès l'automne pour me conduire au fort de Maurepas, est arrivé avec vingt-deux hommes et vingt-trois femmes, il m'a dit avoir envoyé aud[it] fort une partie des jeunes gens, les femmes et enfans pour avertir tout le monde de mon arrivée.

Le premier fevrier, j'ay fait partir quinze sauvages et leurs femmes pour me tracer le chemin le plus court, le débarasser et me marquer les campemens, je garday les huit autres et leurs femmes pour mener les vivres et me servir.

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but that they were greatly worried at having no news of the canoes and supplies that had been promised them for the autumn.

On the sixteenth La Colle's man who passed by the Assiniboin said that the two tribes are at present hunting buffalo to get meat and fats for the fort; some of them return laden every day.

On the thirty-first the Cree savage whom I had hired and kept in pay since the autumn to guide me to fort Maurepas arrived with twenty-two men and twenty-three women. He told me he had sent some of the young men to the said fort, the women and the children to give notice to all the country of my arrival.

On the first of February I sent off fifteen savages and their wives to mark out the shortest way for me, clear it of obstacles and select places to camp; the eight others and their wives I kept to carry provisions and be of service to me.

Le deux[iem]e sont arrivés deux couriers Assiniboils, qui m'ont dit que les chêfs envoyoient au fort de Maurepas toute leur famille pour m'y attendre et qu'il y avoit soixante-dix des leurs et cinquante Cris a une journée d'icy chargés de viandes et graisses pour m'escorter, après les avoir fait manger, je les fis partir pour leur porter six brasses de tabac.

Le trois au matin arriverent les cent vingt hommes a la veue du fort, et aussitôt je fis partir deux Sauvages pour avertir la Mikoüenne, et deux autres chêfs qui n'étoient pas loin de venir au fort, ils y arriverent avec douze loges.

Le quatre je fis venir dans ma chambre les chêfs Cris et Assiniboils, pour leur dire les raisons de mon voyage, je leur fis mon présent qui fût de les habiller tous et leur donner a chacun hache, coûteau, alênes, poûdre, balles etc. je leur fis connoître le desir que j'avois de voir leurs terres, et que mon

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On the second two Assiniboin messengers arrived who told me that the chiefs were sending their entire families to fort Maurepas to await my arrival, and that there were seventy of their people and fifty Cree a day's journey away laden with meat and fats to escort me. After having fed them I sent them to carry six fathoms of tobacco to those men.

On the morning of the third the hundred and twenty men came within sight of the fort, and I at once sent off two savages to notify La Mikouenne and two other chiefs who were not far away to come to the fort. They arrived with twelve lodges.

On the fourth I got the Cree and Assiniboin chiefs to come into my apartment in order that I might explain to them the reasons for my journey. I made them my present, which consisted of clothing for them all and an axe, knife, awls, powder and balls, etc., for each of them. I then informed them of the desire I had to see their lands, and that

départ seroit dans deux jours, je les remerciay d'avoir pris la peine de venir, et leur dis qu'ils pouvoient partir le lendemain pour battre les chemins qu'ils troûveroient tracés, qu'il leur etoit expedient d'arriver devant moy pour faire assembler tout le monde, et que je leur parlerois chez eux ; je recommanday aux Cris et Monsonis de bien chasser pendant mon absence, que mon voyage pouroit être de deux lunes, de ne pas faire comme l'année précédente (ils ne pûrent avoir les besoins de leurs familles faute de chasser).

Le cinq les Assiniboils et Cris sont venûs me remercier, m'aporter leurs présens en viandes et graisses et prendre congé de moy, je les ay chargés d'une lettre pour mon fils.

Le huit après avoir mis le fort en sûreté pendant mon absence, ayant laissé vingt hommes sous le commandement du sergent, j'en ay pris dix avec moy, mes deux enfans, huit Sauvages et leurs femmes pour porter les choses necessaires

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I would take my departure in two days. I thanked them for having taken the trouble to come, and said that they might leave on the following day to beat the road which they would find marked out ; that it would be desirable for them to arrive before I did so as to get all the people together, and that I would talk to them on their own ground. I urged the Cree and the Monsoni to hunt well during my absence, which I said might last for two moons, and not to do as they had done the previous year when, through not having hunted, they could not provide for the wants of their families.

On the fifth the Assiniboin and Cree came to thank me and bring me their presents in the shape of meats and fats and to take leave of me, and I entrusted them with a letter for my son.

On the eighth, after having made the fort secure for the period of my absence, and having left twenty men under the command of the sergeant, taking ten with me, my two sons, and eight savages with their wives to carry things

au voyage, je suis party le matin, par un grand froid qui a continué toute la roûte, mais beau soleil, j'ay eté dix-huit jours a me rendre au fort de Maurepas, j'ay troûvé presque tous les jours des lôges Sauvages qui me souhaittoient bon voyage et m'offroient des vivres dont je n'avois que faire, ceux qui m'accompagnoient tüans chaque jour deux et trois orignaux.

A deux journées du fort quatre-vingt hommes sont venûs au-devant de moy, avec un françois envoyé par mon fils pour me dire que tout le monde m'attendoit avec impatience.

Le vingt-cinq fevrier, j'arrivay au fort, que je fis salüer par une décharge de tout mon monde, a laquelle il repondit, il y eût d'autres décharges de part et d'autre avec des cris de joÿe de ce peuple qui estoit nombreux.

Les chêfs me complimenterent, la saison pressoit les Cris de partir pour leur chasse. Il y avoit dêjà longtęms

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required on the way, I started in the morning, the weather being excessively cold, which it continued to be all the way, though the sun was bright. It took me eighteen days to get to fort Maurepas. Nearly every day I came to lodges of savages, who wished me *bon voyage* and offered me provisions that I had no need for, as the men who were with me killed two or three moose every day.

Two days' journey from the fort eighty men came to meet me with a Frenchman sent by my son, to tell me that all were awaiting me with impatience.

On the twenty-fifth of February I arrived at the fort, which I ordered my party to salute by a discharge of fire-arms to which the fort replied. Other discharges followed on one side and the other with shouts of joy from the assembled people, who were numerous.

The chiefs complimented me. The season was so advanced that the Cree were in a hurry to leave for their

qu'ils m'attendoient, nous convînmes du quatre mars pour le Conseil, parce qu'il faloit donner le tems d'avertir deux villages Assiniboils qui sont à la grande fourche de la riviere Rouge, qui est le lieu que j'ay destiné pour transporter le fort de Maurepas, pour faciliter la navigation et le commerce.

Dans cet interval, Monsieur, j'ay employé le temps à prendre des connoissances du Lac Oüinipigon, des rivieres qui s'y dechargent, des nations qui y habitent etc., d'un autre grand Lac à l'Oüest nommé frere du Oüinipigon qui y communique par un grand canal d'eau morte d'environ quinze à vingt lieuës, bordé de montagnes boisées, depuis le Nord jusqu'au Sud-Oüest abbondant en martres et loûps cerviers, c'est le païs de chasse des Cris et Assiniboils, j'ay fait faire une carte par les chêfs les plus experimentés des deux nations J'ay l'honneur de vous l'envoyer, Monsieur, vous verrés que

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hunting: they had been waiting for me for a long time. We settled upon the fourth of March as the date of the council, because time was required to notify two villages of the Assiniboin situated at the great fork of the Red river, which is the place to which I have proposed to transfer fort Maurepas in order to facilitate navigation and commerce.[1]

In this interval, Monsieur, I have employed the time in obtaining information about Lake Winnipeg, the rivers that fall into it, and the tribes dwelling on its shores; also respecting another great lake to the west called the Brother of Winnipeg,[2] which communicates with it by a wide channel of still water from fifteen to twenty leagues in length, surrounded by wooded mountains extending from the north to the south-west, and abounding in martens and lynxes; it is the hunting ground of the Cree and Assiniboin. I got the most experienced chiefs of the two tribes to make a map of the country, which I have the honour, Monsieur, to send

[1] See footnote on fort Rouge, p. 308.

[2] Lake Manitoba and Lake Winnipegosis, Lac des Prairies on La Vérendrye's maps.

je n'ay pas oublié les mines, ny ce qui peut servir a ma decouverte, les Nations, les Rivieres, les Montagnes, etc.

Je connûs par leur carte que la grande riviere des Oüachipoannes aujourd'huy Koüathéattes, ne court point à l'Oüest, mais retourne au Sud, et va se décharger selon les apparences dans la Mer Pacifique, où il y a des hommes blancs, des villes, des forts, du canon, et ou se fait la prière, y ayant des robes noires, sur ce que je voyois qu'il n'y avoit qu'environ cent cinquante lieuës jusqu'a cette nation de blancs tant désirée, je pris la résolution d'y aller, me flattant de m'y pouvoir rendre avant le printems, mais les françois ayant eû peur, n'ont pas voulû m'accompagner, ce qui a rompû toutes mes mesures. Mon fils a qui j'avois donné ordre de s'y rendre l'automne, n'avoit pû le faire faute des canots qu'on me refûsa dont j'ay dêjà parlé, voila les inconveniens.

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you.[1] You will see that I have not forgotten the mines, nor whatever could aid in my exploration, tribes, rivers, mountains, etc.

I learnt from their map that the great river of the Ouachipouennes,[2] now the Kouathéattes, does not run west, but takes a turn to the south and finally discharges, it would appear, into the Pacific Ocean, where there are white men, towns, forts, and cannon, and where prayer is said, there being priests in the country. When I saw that the distance was not more than about a hundred and fifty leagues to that tribe of whites that we are so desirous of getting in touch with, I formed a resolution to make the journey, flattering myself that I should be able to get there before the spring, but the Frenchmen were afraid to accompany me, which defeated all my plans. My son, whom I had instructed to go there in the autumn, was unable to do so for want of canoes, which were refused to him as already mentioned. Such are our difficulties.

[1] The map of 1737, facing p. 213.

[2] The Missouri.

Vous verrés par cette carte, Monsieur, la hauteur des terres, c'est une chaîne de montagnes qui regnent depuis le Nord du Lac Superieur jusques dans les terres inconnuës marquées par des points, et la riviere Blanche qui prend sa source a cette hauteur d'un lac qui a trois décharges, l'une à l'Est-Nord-Est, qui vient se décharger environ au milieu du Lac Oüinipigon, une à l'Oüest-Sud-Oüest qui descend a la mer d'Oüest inconnuë, et la troisieme au Sud, a l'embouchure de la riviere Blanche, il y a un rapide de plus de demie-lieuë toûjours grand eau, Environ a cent lieuës plus haut est un moyen lac apellé des Glaises ; au-dessus du Lac des Glaises il y a trois chûtes qui font trois portages assés courts ; avant d'arriver a la hauteur des terres, cette riviere est habitée par la nation du Brochet, Elle se partage en deux au-dessûs du Lac des Outardes dont un bras tombe dans la riviere des Anglois, par ou cette nation va traitter ;

You will see by this map, Monsieur, the height of land. It is a mountain chain which runs from north of Lake Superior as far as the unknown territory, indicated by points, and the Blanche river which takes its rise in those highlands issuing from a lake which has three outlets, one to the east-north-east which falls into Lake Winnipeg about midway of its length ; one to the west-south-west which flows to the unknown Western Sea ; and the third to the south at the mouth of the river Blanche. There is a rapid over half a league long with deep water all the way.

About a hundred leagues higher up is a middling-sized lake called Lac des Glaises, and above this lake there are three falls which make three rather short portages, before you reach the height of land. The country through which this river passes is inhabited by the Brochet (Pike) tribe. Above Lac des Outardes (Bustard lake) the river divides into branches, one of which falls into English river, by which these people go to

tout le côté du Nord est boisé, et au Sud ce ne sont que prairies, ou il y a différentes mines que les Sauvages apellent fer de differentes couleurs ; j'ay loüé deux familles que j'ay fait partir ce printems pour en aller chercher, que j'espere troûver au fort S[t] Charles a mon arrivée, pour vous en envoyer l'année suivante, il y a aussy une mine de sel abondante, sur le bord de la même riviere du côté du Sud.

Les Cris qui m'ont fait la peinture de la riviere Blanche, ont marché cinq jours au dela de la hauteur des terres, en descendant la riviere qu'ils nomment du Couchant, ils ont eté surpris de troûver un climat different du lieu qu'il n'en est eloigné, par sa sçituation, sa temperature, ses fruits, et les arbres qui y croissent qu'ils ne connoissent pas, Le païs

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trade.[1] The whole northern side is wooded; to the south it is all prairie land, and there mines are found containing different metals which the savages speak of as iron of different colours. I engaged two families and sent them off this spring to go and get specimens, which I hope to find at fort St. Charles on my arrival so that I may send you some next year. There is also a rich salt mine on the south bank of the same river.

The Cree who gave me a drawing of the Blanche river have travelled five days' journey beyond the height of land, going down the river, which they call the River of the West, and were surprised to find a quite different climate in respect to temperature, with different fruits and trees with which they were not acquainted. The country is very

[1] A comparison of this narrative with the map of 1737 makes it reasonably clear that all this is a confused picture of the Saskatchewan and the Nelson rivers, with their connecting waterways. Rivière Blanche is the Saskatchewan, with its two branches. The mountain chain, though sadly out of position, is obviously the Rocky Mountains. Lac des Glaises is Cumberland lake, with the route north to the Churchill. Lac des Outardes is Cedar lake, and the branch of the Rivière Blanche that falls into English river (Nelson) is the old canoe route between the Saskatchewan and the Nelson by way of Moose lake and Minago river. This route appears on the 1737 map as the Rivière du Brochet. The Brochet nation were probably the Wood Crees.

est fort découvert sans montagnes, ils ont trouvé un arbrisseau dont le bois et les feüilles sont odoriférantes qui pouroit être le laurier, un autre qui porte des grains semblables au poivre que je leur ay montré, un arbre qui produit une espece de cocos, dont il tombe comme des gouttes de sang, lorsqu'il est en fleur, il y a des mines, toutes sortes de bêtes sauvages en abondance et des serpens d'une grosseur prodigieuse.

Le haut de la riviere du Couchant est habité de Sauvages errans comme les Assiniboils, nommés Pikaraminioüach fort nombreux sans armes a feu, mais ils ont haches, couteaux, etoffes &c. comme nous, qu'ils tirent du bas de la riviere habitée par des blancs qui ont des villes mûrées et des forts, ces blancs ne connoissent point les armes a feu ny la priere, il peut y avoir trois cent lieuës de la hauteur des terres a

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open—no mountains. They found a shrub the wood and leaves of which are odoriferous, and which might be the laurel; another which bore seeds like the pepper I showed them; also a tree which produced a kind of cocoa from which exude drops like blood when it is in flower. There are also mines, all kinds of wild beasts in abundance, and snakes of a prodigious size.[1]

The upper part of the River of the West is inhabited by wandering savages like the Assiniboin, called Pikaraminiouach,[2] very numerous, without fire-arms, but possessing axes, knives and cloth like ourselves, which they get from down the river where white men dwell who have walled towns and forts. These whites have no knowledge of fire-arms or of prayer. The distance from the height of land to the sea may be three hundred leagues. The Cree have no knowledge

[1] The River of the West as here described by the imaginative Cree bears a family resemblance to Lahontan's Rivière Longue. The odoriferous shrub might have been the sage.

[2] Impossible to identify this name. On the 1737 map the western tribe is called Hiatichiritiny, which Mr. J. B. Tyrrell tells me means strangers or slaves in the Cree language, and was the term commonly applied by the Cree to the Blackfeet. See also *Wis. Hist. Coll.* xviii, 187.

la mer, Les Cris n'ont connoissance de ces hommes blancs que par les esclaves qu'ils ont fait après avoir passé la hauteur des terres ; cette nation porte ses tentes ou lôges comme les Assiniboils.

Pour faciliter ma découverte, Monsieur, mon dessein seroit, si vous l'aprouvéz, de retirer d'entre les mains des Cris ce que je pourois d'esclaves de ces deux nations, pour lier amitié avec elles, m'accompagner dans le voyage, et me servir d'interprettes.

Le quatre mars les Assiniboils et Cris de la riviere Rouge etant arrivés et faisant un froid à ne pouvoir rester dehors, je pris les chêfs et les plus considerables des deux nations, pour tenir conseil dans ma chambre, qui etant trop petite ne pouvoit contenir tant de peuple, ils commencerent par pleûrer les morts, et a coûvrir les corps par des présens de viandes et de castors que je leur remis ne pouvant l'emporter,

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of these men except through the slaves they have made after having crossed the height of land ; the tribe in question carry their tents or dwellings with them like the Assiniboin.

To facilitate my discovery, Monsieur, I would propose, if you approve of it, to withdraw from the hands of the Cree as many slaves as possible belonging to those two tribes, so as to form friendly relations with them, and have these slaves to accompany me on my journey and act as interpreters.

On the fourth of March, the Assiniboin and the Cree of the Red river having arrived, and as the weather was so cold that it was impossible to stay out of doors, I brought the chiefs and the more important men of the two tribes into my apartment to hold council there, but it proved too small to hold so many people. They began by weeping for the dead and covering their bodies by presents of meat and beaver skins, which I returned to them, not being able to carry the stuff away.

un Chêf Cris se leva pour me demander de tenir ma parôle, et de prendre des mesûres pour etablir un fort au fond du Lac Oüinipigon à l'emboûchure de la grande riviere des Anglois, qu'il y avoit en ce lieu abondance de chasse et de pêche, et qu'étant le seul passage du Lac et de la riviere Blanche, la traitte y seroit abondante en loûps cerviers, martres, et surtout en castors grâs que l'Anglois ne reçoit point, qu'ils alloient disposer toutes choses pour aller joindre ce printemps La Mikoüenne et La Colle au fort S^{t} Charles pour aller venger le sang françois.

Un chêf Assiniboils se leva après au nom de la Nation, et me dit que quoyque l'accident arrivé l'été dernier eût empêché le transport du fort chés eux a la fourche de la riviere Rouge leur veritable terre, il esperoit néantmoins que je tiendrois ma parole cette année, que sa nation m'offroit

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A Cree chief rose and asked me to keep my word and to take measures for establishing a fort at the end of Lake Winnipeg,[1] at the entrance to the great English river, saying that at that place there was abundance of game and fish, and that as it was the only exit from the lake and the Blanche river, there would be a very large trade in lynx, marten, and above all fat beaver, which the English do not take. He also stated that they were going to make all necessary arrangements in order to meet La Mikouenne and La Colle this spring at fort St. Charles so as to go and avenge the French blood that had been spilt.

An Assiniboin chief rose next in the name of his tribe and said that although the accident that had occurred last summer had prevented the transfer of the fort to their neighbourhood, namely to the fork of the Red river, which was their own proper territory, he hoped that I would, nevertheless, keep my word this year; that his tribe offered me

[1] See footnote on fort Bourbon, p. 478.

tout secours pour cela, qu'elle s'y etabliroit en village, pour résider toûjours auprès de mon fort, que la vie y est abondante par la chasse et la pêche, le bœuf et les tourtes y etans attirées toute l'année, par une saline qui est proche, il me remercia d'avoir pris la peine d'être venû de si loin dans la saison la plus rûde de l'année pour les voir, et me dit que les guerriers de la nation se disposoient tous de partir au printems pour aller venger la mort de mon fils et des francois, et que j'en entendrois parler, je remis à répondre a tous au lendemain.

Le cinq mars je parlay aux mêmes, j'accompagnay ma parole de très beaux présents, ils consistoient en couvertes, brayers, mitasses, haches, coûteaux, poûdre, plomb, balles, etc., je fis deux parts égalles, je les remerciay, Monsieur, en vôtre nom, d'être venûs au-devant de moy, et de s'être troûvés tous à mon arrivée ; je leur communiquay vos ordres,

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all the help in their power for that purpose, and that they would form a village at the spot in order to reside permanently near the fort ; that it was easy there to get a living by hunting and fishing, as buffalo and *tourtes* [1] were attracted there all the year round by a saline spring that was close by.

He thanked me for having taken the trouble to come such a distance, in the most rigorous season of the year, in order to see them, and told me that the warriors of the tribe were all arranging to start in the spring in order to go and avenge the blood of my son and the other Frenchmen, and that I should hear a good deal said about it. I put off my reply to the next day.

On the fifth of March I spoke to the same people, accompanying my discourse with very fine presents, consisting of blankets, breeches, leggings, axes, knives, powder, lead, bullets, etc., which I divided into two equal parts. I thanked them, Monsieur, in your name for having come to meet me and for having been all here on my arrival. I communicated

[1] Obviously wild pigeon, although the context seems to suggest a member of the deer family.

et leur fis surtout remarquer quelque nombre d'enfans que vous eûssiéz, la singuliere attention que vous aviés pour eux, les assurant que s'ils etoient fidels à vous obéïr vous ne les abandonneriés jamais, et les regarderiés toûjours comme vos véritables enfans ; je leur fis part des nouvelles de Canada et de celles de France, je leur parlay des victoires que le Roy avoit remportées, des villes prises sur ses ennemis etc. cela parût leur faire plaisir, ils m'ecoûtoient avec attention, je les exhortay a bien chasser afin d'avoir de quoy traiter avec les françois, que c'etoit le moyen de vivre en bonne intelligence, et d'avoir de quoy soulager leurs familles, je dis la même chose aux Cris qui promirent de bien faire, Un chêf Cris se levâ et me dit, Mon Pere, nous dirons vray, mais donne-nous ton fils, que nous avons adopté a la place de son frere pour choisir la place du fort, et pour empêcher qu'aucun

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your orders to them and remarked upon the singular attention you paid to them, no matter how many other children you might have, assuring them that, if they faithfully obeyed you, you would never abandon them, but would always regard them as your true children.

I gave them the news from Canada and also from France. I spoke of the victories which the King had gained,[1] the towns he had taken from his enemies, etc. All that seemed to give them pleasure, as they listened with attention. I exhorted them to hunt vigorously in order that they might have wherewithal to trade with the French, as that was the way to live in good understanding and to have the means of supplying comforts to their families. I said the same thing to the Cree, who promised to do well.

A Cree chief rose and said : ' My father, we will speak the truth, but give us your son, whom we have adopted in the place of his brother, to choose the place for the fort,

[1] Louis XV was then engaged in the war of the Polish Succession.

de nous n'aille aux Anglois, nous l'aimons et le conserverons comme nous mêmes, mon fils qui a grande envie de se rendre utile a la Colonie, me parût flatté d'aller avec eux pour les ramener ce printems au fort S^t^ Charles, je le leur accorday ; je remerciay les Assiniboils des guides qu'ils m'avoient offerts pour aller chés les Koüathéattes, me servant de la saison avancée pour ne pas donner a connoître la crainte des françois, comme aussy du dessein que j'avois eû de remonter la riviere Rouge, pour me rendre au fort S^t^ Charles, je me servis du prétexte de voir la grande riviere qui du Lac des Bois tombe dans l'Oüinipigon.

Je demanday aux Assiniboils le lieu ou ils passeroient l'esté, ils me dirent qu'au retour de la guerre ils iroient chés les Koüathéattes traiter du bled d'inde et des fêves, qu'ils

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and to prevent any of us from going to the English. We love him and we shall cherish him like one of ourselves.'

My son, who has a great desire to make himself useful to the colony, seemed to be flattered at the idea of going with them and bringing them back in the spring to fort St. Charles ; accordingly I let them have him.

I thanked the Assiniboin for the guides they had offered me to go with me to the country of the Kouathéattes, but declined the offer alleging the lateness of the season, so as not to let them know that the Frenchmen were afraid, nor yet of the intention I had formed of going up the Red river so as to reach fort St. Charles. I availed myself of the pretext of wanting to see the great river which, issuing from the Lake of the Woods, falls into Lake Winnipeg.[1]

I enquired of the Assiniboin where they meant to spend the summer ; and they said that on returning from the war they would go to the country of the Kouathéattes to buy

[1] It is evident that fort Maurepas was still at the foot of Red river, and had not yet been removed to the banks of the Winnipeg—which La Vérendrye is now about to ascend.

changent avec des haches, couteaux, battefeux, et autres ferremens qu'ils n'ont point, Je me déterminay a leur confier le présent que j'avois destiné pour cette nation, qu'ils promirent de rendre, Monsieur, en vôtre nom, et de leur porter vôtre parôle qui est

1°. Que les françois désire de faire amitié avec les Koüathéattes, et de lier commerce entre les deux nations.

2°. Qu'ils les invite de venir l'automne a la fourche de la riviere Rouge, où ils va faire un nouveau fort afin d'être plus proche d'eux.

3°. D'y venir avec des chevaux d'y porter du bled d'Inde, des fêves, du fer dont ils se servent, surtout celuy qui est couleur du soleil, et des pierres qui lüisent la nuit, ou autres curiosités à nous inconnuës, ils promirent de porter le tout aux feüilles tombantes au fort de Maurepas, et j'ay donné

Indian corn and beans, for which they give in exchange axes, knives, firesteels, and other iron tools which those people do not possess. I decided to entrust to them the present which I had intended for that tribe, which they promised to deliver, Monsieur, in your name, and to carry to them your message, which is :

1. That the French desire to establish friendship with the Kouathéattes and to enter into commercial relations with them.

2. That they invite them to come in the autumn to the fork of the Red river, where they are going to build a new fort, so as to be nearer to them.

3. To come with horses and to bring Indian corn, beans, and some of the iron which they use, particularly that which is of the colour of the sun, and stones which shine in the dark, or other curiosities unknown to us.

They [the Assiniboin] promised to bring all these things at the fall of the leaves to fort Maurepas, and I gave

ordre a mon fils de me l'envoyer le printems suivant a Missilimakinac, je ne manqueray pas, Monsieur, de vous l'adresser par les canots de Montréal.

Un chêf Assiniboils se leva, et m'adressant la parole au nom des deux nations, après avoir conféré ensemble, Mon Pere prend courage, tu vâs voir notre Pere à Montréal, assure-le bien que nous sommes ses véritables enfans, et que nous le prions de ne pas nous abandonner, Et adressant la parole au chêf Cris deputé des deux nations, et toy mon frere tu auras le bonheur de voir notre Pere, fais-luy bien connoître nos dispositions a son egard, et représente-luy nos besoins, afin qu'il nous donne du secours, en envoyant icy tous les ans des françois, et sois bien attentif à tout ce que tu verras et entendrâ, afin de nous en faire un raport fidel. On se sépara pour se rendre châcun chés soy.

Le onze mars je partis avec tous les françois et six Cris,

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order to my son to send the whole on to me in the following spring at Michilimackinac. I shall not fail, Monsieur, to forward the articles to you by the canoes for Montreal.

An Assiniboin chief took the floor after conference with the two tribes, and addressed me in their name. 'My Father,' he said, 'take courage: you are going to see our Father at Montreal; be careful to assure him that we are his veritable children and that we beg him not to abandon us.' Then, addressing the Cree chief, deputy of the two tribes: 'And you, my brother, you will have the happiness of seeing our Father: see that you acquaint him with our dispositions regarding him, and represent to him our needs, in order that he may give us help by sending Frenchmen to us every year; and give close attention to all you shall see and hear so as to render us a faithful account of everything.' The meeting then broke up, each one going in his own direction.

On the eleventh of March I set out with all the French-

laissant vuide le fort Maurepas, par la demande que m'avoient faite les commis des cinq hommes qui y avoient hyverné avec mon fils, je mis dix-neuf jours a me rendre au fort S^t^ Charles, toûjours grand froid.

La navigation s'étant troûvée tardive, les Cris et Monsonis des environs du Lac des Bois ne sont arrivés que le 24^e^ may pour faire leur traite.

Le 25 j'ay envoyé chercher tous les ôssemens des françois et les ay fait enterrer dans la chapelle.

Le 26 sont arrivés soixante Cris de la Barriere qui m'ont dit que les Cris du Oüinipigon que j'avois laissés au fort Maurepas étoient tous morts de la petite verole qui leur a

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men and six Cree, leaving fort Maurepas empty in accordance with the request made of me by the clerk of the five men who had wintered there with my son. It took me nineteen days to get to fort St. Charles, the weather being very cold all the time.

Navigation opening late, the Cree and Monsoni of the neighbourhood of the Lake of the Woods did not arrive till the 24th of May to do their trading.

On the 25th I sent to look for the remains of the Frenchmen [who had been massacred] and had them buried in the chapel.

On the 26th sixty Barrier Cree [1] arrived and told me that the Winnipeg Cree whom I had left at fort Maurepas had all died of small-pox,[2] which had been brought to them by those

[1] La Vérendrye's map of 1737 shows 'La Barriere' on the Winnipeg river. Barrière chute is between Slave falls and Otter falls. No doubt the name as here applied refers to a band of Cree on Winnipeg river.

[2] The literature of western exploration and the fur trade offers material for an instructive chapter on the history of the introduction of small-pox among the western tribes, and its frightful ravages. One traveller speaks of visiting village after village in which the entire population had been literally wiped out by the disease. Catlin, speaking of the Pawnees, says that, when small-pox was accidentally introduced among them in 1832, ten thousand or more perished in the course of a few months. Lewis and Clark record its effects on the Missouri tribes. Of one of these they say :

été portée par ceux qui ont eté traiter chez les Anglois, je n'ay pas manqué de leur dire que le maître de la vie les avoit pûnis pour n'être pas venûs au fort S^t^ Charles comme ils l'avoient promis.

Le 27^e^ est arrivé un canot françois de la riviere du Vermillon, par lequel j'ay apris que Bourassa en partoit pour Missilimakinac, et qu'Eustache m'y attendoit, La Colle m'a mandé par cette occasion, qu'ayant perdu sa fille, il n'avoit pû venir me voir comme il m'avoit promis, mais qu'il partoit à la tête de trois cent hommes pour aller sur les Sçioux, que le chemin de Montréal étoit libre et a coûvert de l'ennemy, et que je pouvois passer en toute sûreté, il mande aux Cris

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who had gone to trade with the English. I did not fail to tell them that the Master of Life had punished them for not having come to fort St. Charles as they had promised.

On the 27th a French canoe arrived from Vermilion river, by which I learnt that Bourassa was leaving there for Michilimackinac and that Eustache was awaiting me. La Colle sent me word by this opportunity that, having lost his daughter, he had not been able to come and see me as he had promised, but that he was leaving at the head of three hundred men to go against the Sioux; that the road to Montreal was open and secure from the enemy, and that I might pass

' They had been a military and warlike people, but when these warriors saw their strength wasting before a malady which they could not resist, their phrenzy was extreme; they burnt their village, and many of them put to death their wives and children, to save them from so cruel an affliction, and that all might go together to some better country.' In 1837 two villages of the Mandan were almost destroyed by small-pox, only 31 souls out of 1600 surviving. The following year the Assiniboin were reduced from 1000 lodges to less than 400. Hind says that in 1786 the Cree were reduced to half their number, and that in 1838 the disease again swept off half the prairie tribes. In 1780–81, in 1837–38, in 1845, and in 1869, the Blackfeet suffered great losses from the same terrible disease. Evidence might be multiplied from the narratives of Alexander Mackenzie, Maximilian, Harmon, Larpenteur, the journals edited by L. R. Masson, and many other sources, including such recent works as Morice's *Northern Interior of British Columbia* and Hughes' *Father Lacombe*.

que quelques Sauteux se sont joints a luy et qu'il les attendra au rendés-vous.

Le 28 sont arrivés trente hommes du Lac Népigon, poste de M. de la Valtrie, pour se joindre aux guerriers contre les Sçioux.

Le même jour, mon fils le Chevalier est arrivé du Lac Oüinipigon, qui raporte la mortalité des Cris, causée par la petite vérolle, ceux qui en ont échapé, ont relâché, et ont jetté suivant leur coutûme dans la riviere tout le castor, pichoux, martres etc. des morts ; et le leur, de sorte que le rivage en etoit bordé, et les portages en étoient pleins, ce qui a été perdû, personne parmy les Sauvages n'ôsant y toûcher, des dix loges qui etoient avec mon fils, pas un n'en

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in all safety. He informs the Cree that certain Saulteur had joined him and that he will await them at the rendezvous.

On the 28th thirty men arrived from Lake Nipigon, M. de la Valtrie's [1] post, to join the warriors against the Sioux.

The same day my son the Chevalier came from Lake Winnipeg, reporting the mortality among the Cree caused by small-pox. Those who escaped made a stop and threw into the river, according to their custom, all the beaver, pichoux,[2] marten, etc., belonging to the dead as well as their own, so that the shore was lined with them and the portages full, all of which was a loss, as no one among the savages ventured to touch them. In the ten lodges that were with

[1] Pierre Paul Margane, Sieur de la Valtrie, born 1679. He was made an ensign in 1712, and promoted to lieutenant in 1721, and captain 1739. He was in command of the Nipigon post, as mentioned above, and later had charge of Sault St. Louis in 1747, and Niagara in 1752. In Léry's Memorial, 1767 (*Archives*, 1888, p. 29), he says : ' On the 4th of September, 1765, I was at General Murray's, when M. de la Valtrie, a Canadian, arrived from France, at the request of his father, an officer of eighty-four years of age, who had asked to see him and to leave him his property.' La Valtrie the elder must have died about this time, as Léry says in a note : ' Since the death of his father the son has left the French service, married a young Canadian lady, and is well settled.'

[2] Canadian lynx.

est mort, par les remedes qu'il leur a donnés, et les bons soins qu'il en a pris, ce qui a augmenté l'amitié et la confiance qu'ils avoient en luy et les françois, mais ils ont relâché comme les autres pour secourir le reste des familles désolées, il n'est venû que dix-huit hommes avec luy pour se joindre aux guerriers.

Le 29e j'ay assemblé les chêfs guerriers qui demandoient à parler depuis plusieurs jours, pour avoir leurs besoins pour la guerre, ils etoient environ deux cent cinquante hommes, je leur ay donné poûdre, balles, tabac, etc. en commun, j'ay habillé le premier chêf de guerre et luy ay fait son présent a part, je leur ay fort recommandé que s'ils troûvoient des françois dans leur chemin, de les traiter comme moy-même, et s'il y en avoit chés les Sçioux de les retirer de leurs mains, de peur qu'il ne leur arrivâ du mal, je les ay exhorté de tenir le chemin libre et a couvert de l'ennemy, comme ils me l'ont

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my son there was not one death ; this was due to the remedies he gave them and the good care he took of them, which augmented their friendship for him and the French as well as their confidence in them ; but they stopped like the others to succour the rest of the afflicted families. Only eighteen men came with him to join the warriors.

On the 29th I assembled the warrior chiefs who for several days had been asking to talk to me in order to get supplies for the war. They numbered about two hundred and fifty men, and I gave them powder, ball, tobacco, etc., in common. I dressed the first war chief[1] and gave him his present separately. I strongly urged them, if they met any French on their way, to treat them as they would myself, and, if there were any among the Sioux, to get them out of their hands, lest some evil happen to them.

I entreated them to keep the road open and clear of the

[1] That is, presented him with a ceremonial dress.

promis, je leur ay recommandé la tranquilité avec le françois pendant mon absence, d'avoir soin de mes enfans que je laissois au milieu d'eux, et de s'y prendre de bonne heure l'automne pour faire beaucoup de folle avoine pour faire vivre le grand nombre de françois que je comptois de leur envoyer de Missilimakinac, ils me promirent d'obéir a tout ce que je leur disois, me remercierent des présents que je leur avois fait, et du voyage de Montréal que j'entreprenois en leur faveur, après tous ces discours, ils partirent tous pour le rendés-vous.

Le 3^{e} Juin à la reveuë je fis recevoir mon fils le Chevalier pour Commandant en mon absence, je luy ay laissé toutes les instructions necessaires pour le bon ordre, et après avoir pourvû à la sûreté du fort S^{t} Charles, je suis party avec onze canots françois et trois canots Sauvages, tous chargés de paquêts sans cependant pouvoir tout emporter, j'ay fait

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enemy as they had promised me. I advised them to keep peace with the French during my absence and to take care of my sons whom I was leaving amongst them ; also to get to work early in the fall so as to gather a great quantity of wild oats to provide food for the large number of Frenchmen that I was expecting to send them from Michilimackinac. They promised to do everything I said and thanked me for the presents I had made them and for the journey to Montreal that I was undertaking in their interest. After all this talk they all set off for the rendezvous.

On the 3rd of June at the review I caused my son the Chevalier to be recognized as commandant in my absence, and left him all necessary instructions for keeping things in good order, and after having provided for the safety of fort St. Charles I left with eleven French and three Indian canoes, all laden with packages, though we could not carry away all that we had. As we passed fort St. Pierre I caused

reparer le fort S[t] Pierre en passant, et suis arrivé en vingt-deux jours a Gamanistigoüia, ou j'ay donné mes ordres pour faire entrer dans les terres les marchandises qui y etoient les plus nécessaires, surtout les poûdres, balles, tabac, etc. ce qui n'a pû s'exécuter qu'après l'arrivée des canots de Montréal que j'ay trouvé a soixante lieuës du poste dans le Lac Supérieur, Je leur ay recommandé de faire diligence, et continüant ma route je suis arrivé à Missilimakinac le 22[e] Juillet et n'en suis party que le 3[e] août, après avoir donné tous les ordres nécessaires pour la fourniture des postes de la découverte de la Mer d'Oüest, qui ont été exécutés par le S[r] de la Marque, a qui j'ay donné les connoissances néces-

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it to be repaired, and in twenty-two days we arrived at Kaministikwia, where I gave orders to send up the country the goods that were most required, particularly powder, ball, tobacco, etc.; orders, however, which could only be executed after the arrival of the canoes from Montreal, which I found sixty leagues from the post in Lake Superior.

I advised them to make haste, and continuing my journey I arrived at Michilimackinac on the 22nd of July, and did not leave again till the 3rd of August, after having given all necessary orders for the supplying of the posts on the line of my search for the Western Sea, which orders were executed by the Sieur de la Marque,[1] to whom I imparted all necessary

[1] Charles Nolan de la Marque (1694–1754), son of Jean-Baptiste Nolan, a merchant of Montreal, and brother of Nicolas Augustin Nolan, mentioned in a later journal of La Vérendrye. Saint-Pierre, in a letter to Beauharnois dated October 14, 1737, mentions the receipt of letters from Nolan, Legras, and Bourassa, giving an account of the murder of young La Vérendrye and his party. The elder Nolan had been engaged as a clerk at Detroit under Cadillac some thirty-five years before. La Marque and his brother were interested in the commercial side of La Vérendrye's expedition, in company with other Montreal merchants. Beauharnois writes to the minister, October 12, 1742: 'The Sieur de Verchères writes to me on the 9th of September last, that he had caused to be paid to the Sieur Lamarque and Company the 56 packages that the Sieur de la Vérendrye owed to their firm.'

saires pour la traite avec les Sauvages, et luy ay conseillé d'y aller luy même pour rétablir les affaires de la Societé, qui ne sont devenuës mauvaises que par la faute de ceux qui les ont gerées.

LAVERENDRYE.

Affaire du meurtre de 21. *voyageurs arrivé au Lac des Bois au mois de Juin* 1736.

Le nommé Bourassa voyageur raporte que le trois[ièm]e de Juin 1736 étant party luy cinquième du fort S[ain]t Charles au Lac des Bois pour se rendre a Michilimakinac, il rencontra le lendemain matin estant sur le point de s'embarquer 30. canots Scioux composez de 90. à 100. hommes, qui l'investirent, le désarmèrent et tous ses gens, le pillèrent, et après avoir appris de luy que sous la courtine du fort de

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information respecting trade with the savages, advising him to go himself and re-establish the business of the company, which only became unprosperous through the fault of those who managed it.

LAVERENDRYE.

Affair of the murder of twenty-one voyageurs at the Lake of the Woods, in the month of June 1736.[1]

The man Bourassa by name, voyageur, reports that on the third of June 1736, having left fort St. Charles on the Lake of the Woods with four others to go to Michilimackinac, he met on the following morning, as he was on the point of embarking, thirty Sioux canoes containing from ninety to one hundred men, who surrounded him, disarmed him and his men, plundered them, and, after having learnt from him

[1] Compare with this relation of Bourassa the account contained in Beauharnois' letter to Maurepas of October 14, 1736, p. 208. See also *The Lake of the Woods Tragedy* (*R.S.C. Trans.* 1903).

M[onsieur] de la Véranderie il y avoit 5. ou 6. cabannes de Cristinaux sur lesquels ils venoient en guerre, ils le relachèrent et partirent dans le dessein d'enlever ces cabanes. Les Scioux dirent à Bourassa qu'il eût à les attendre et qu'à leur retour ils luy rendroient ses armes, ce qu'il ne crût pas à propos de faire, au contraire il se rendit à Michilimakinac ; les Scioux de leur costé se rendirent au fort S[ain]t Charles où ils ne trouvèrent point les cinq cabanes de Cristinaux qui avoient décampé, ils s'en retournent.

Sur ces entrefaites, 20. voyageurs nouvellement arrivez du Lac Alepimigon se mettent en chemin pour Michilimakinac, ils furent rencontréz à une journée de là par les mêmes Scioux qui les ont tous massacrez, de ce nombre sont le S[ieur] La Véranderie fils, le P[ère] Aulneau Missionnaire Jésuite. Leurs corps ont été veus et reconnus par les françois qui ont passé quelques jours après par le même endroit,

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that under the curtain of Monsieur de la Vérendrye's fort there were five or six lodges of Cree against whom they were coming to make war, they released him and departed with the intention of destroying the lodges in question.

The Sioux told Bourassa to wait for them and that on their return they would give him back his arms. This he did not think it advisable to do ; on the contrary he went on to Michilimackinac ; the Sioux, on their part, went to fort St. Charles, where they failed to find the lodges of the Cree, who had fled. They then returned.

Meanwhile twenty voyageurs, newly arrived from Lake Alepimigon,[1] started for Michilimackinac, and at a day's journey from there they were met by these same Sioux, who massacred all of them. Among the number were the son of the Sieur de la Vérendrye and Father Aulneau, a Jesuit missionary. Their bodies were seen and recognized by the French who passed the place some days later. The heads were

[1] Lake Winnipeg. See footnote, p. 55.

les testes estoient posées sur des robes de castor, la pluspart sans chevelure. le missionnaire avoit un genou en terre, une fleche dans le costé, le sein ouvert, sa main gauche contre terre, sa main droite élevée. le S[ieur] la Véranderie estoit couché sur le ventre, le dos ciselé à coups de couteau, une houe enfoncée dans les reins, sans teste, le corps orné de jarretières et de bracelets de Porc-Epi.

On ne sçaura que cette année les autres circonstances de cette malheureuse affaire ; quelques uns jugent que ces sauvages en vouloient particulièrement au S[ieur] la Véranderie fils qui s'éstoit mis en marche deux ans auparavant avec les Cristinaux pour aller en guerre contre les Scioux ; il avoit ésté déclaré chef à ce qu'on prétend dans le Conseil ; quoyqu'il en soit, le jeune homme avoit relâché et n'avoit point esté en guerre.

Le gros du parti sauvage, selon ce que raporte Bourassa estoit composé de Scioux des Prairies, de quelques Scioux

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placed on beaver robes, most of them scalped ; the missionary had one knee on the ground, an arrow in his side, his breast split open, his left hand against the ground, his right hand raised. The Sieur de la Vérendrye was lying on his face, his back all scored with knife cuts, a stake thrust into his side, headless, his body ornamented with leggings and arm-pieces of porcupine.

We shall not know till some time this year the other circumstances of this lamentable affair. Some think that the savages had a particular enmity against the son of the Sieur de la Vérendrye, who two years before had joined the Cree in a campaign against the Sioux : he had been proclaimed chief according to what is stated in the council, but, however that may be, the young man had turned back and had not taken any part in the war.

The larger portion of the savage band, according to Bourassa's report, was composed of Prairie Sioux, of some

des Lacs, et du poste de M[onsieur] de la Ronde, ces derniers paroissoient estre dans de bonnes intentions pour les françois ; peut estre n'ont-ils pas esté les maitres dans l'affaire du S[ieur] La Véranderie ; si les Scioux des Lacs ont comploté avec les Scioux des Prairies de tuer les françois on doit beaucoup craindre pour le S[ieur] S[ain]t Pierre, officier commandant au poste des Scioux.

Tous les Scioux sont les plus féroces de tous les sauvages ils sont de tout temps en guerre avec les Christinaux et les Assiniboels ; ces derniers sont originairement Scioux, ils parlent tous à peu près la même langue et ils sont cependant ennemis irréconciliables.

Une circonstance que le nommé Bourassa raporte, c'est

Lake Sioux, and some from the post of Monsieur de la Ronde.[1] The latter appeared to be well disposed towards the French, but perhaps they had not much authority in the matter of the Sieur de la Vérendrye ; if the Sioux of the Lakes plotted with those of the Prairies to kill the French, there is much cause for anxiety regarding the Sieur de Saint-Pierre,[2] who is in charge of the post in their country.

The Sioux in general are the most ferocious of all the savages ; they are continually at war with the Cree and the Assiniboin. The latter are Sioux by origin ; they all speak nearly the same language and yet they are irreconcilable enemies.

One circumstance which Bourassa reports is that the

[1] Louis Denys, Sieur de la Ronde, commandant at Chequamegon, on Lake Superior. See his own memoir, detailing his services, in *Wis. Hist. Coll.* xvii. 299 *et seq.*

[2] Jacques Legardeur, Sieur de Saint-Pierre, commandant at fort Beauharnois, on Lake Pepin, Mississippi river. He was born 1701, grandson of the explorer Jean Nicolet, and son of Paul Legardeur, Sieur de Saint-Pierre. He commanded various posts in the west, took part in campaigns against the Sioux and the Chickasaw, was entrusted with the search for the Western Sea on the death of La Vérendrye, joined Dieskau's expedition to Lake George, and was killed in the battle, 1755. See sketch by Dr. R. G. Thwaites in *Wis. Hist. Coll.* xvii. 166, and Saint-Pierre's memoirs, *ibid.* xvii. and xviii.

que les Scioux se sont plaints à luy que les francois fournissoient des armes et des munitions aux Cristinaux, Les Cristinaux pourroient de même se plaindre que les françois fournissent des munitions aux Scioux.

Le S[ieur] la Véranderie écrit que pénétré de douleur d'avoir perdu son fils, il estoit dans le dessein de se mettre à la teste des Cristinaux et des Assiniboels pour marcher contre les Scioux, (parti extrême et peu convenable,) il pourroit mieux convenir d'abandonner le poste de la Mer d'Ouest, ou d'y envoyer un autre officier pour relever le S[ieur] la Véranderie, qui travaillât à réconcilier toutes les nations.

[*Lettre de Monsieur de la Véranderie, à Quebec ce Premier Octobre* 1737.]

Monseigneur,

Je ne doutte point que Votre Grandeur, ne soit surprise de ce que je suis descendu sans avoir poussé plus loin ma

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Sioux complained to him that the French furnished arms and munitions to the Cree; the Cree might in like manner complain that the French furnish munitions to the Sioux.

The Sieur de la Vérendrye writes that, smitten with grief at the death of his son, he was thinking of putting himself at the head of the Cree and the Assiniboin and marching against the Sioux (an extreme and very unsuitable course to take); it might be more fitting to abandon the post of the Western Sea, or to send another officer there to relieve the Sieur de la Vérendrye, one who would strive to reconcile all the tribes.

La Vérendrye to Maurepas.

Quebec, October 1, 1737.

Monseigneur,

I doubt not that Your Highness is surprised that I have come down here without having pushed my discovery further,

découverte, mais le triste accident, (ainsy que vous le connoitrez par les mémoire et carte que j'ay eu l'honneur de présenter à M[onsieu]r notre Général, et qu'il a celuy de vous envoyer,) en est la principalle cause, joint à la perte considérable que j'y ay faitte des hommes et effets qui m'étoient nécessaires pour aller en avant, ayant été obligé dans l'automne précédent, et durant le cours de l'hyver de fournir aux besoins et subsistance du fort que j'ay trouvé dénué de tout à mon arrivée par la faute des intéresséz au poste.

Après conseil tenu sur la scituation où je me trouvois, je fus supplié par les sauvages de descendre pour pourvoir à leurs besoins, et moy plus intéressé qu'eux par rapport à mon entreprise, me voyant dans l'indigence de tout, et dans l'impuissance de le faire venir assez promptement je me suis déterminé à descendre pour remonter en diligence, et pour suivre le projet que Votre Grandeur aura la bonté d'examiner ;

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but the sad accident that happened, as you will be aware by the memoir and map which I had the honour of presenting to our General (and which he had the honour of forwarding to you), is the principal cause of my having done so, joined to which is the considerable loss I have suffered in men and in effects necessary to enable me to advance further, obliged as I was in the previous autumn and during the winter to provide for the needs and subsistence of the fort, which I found on my arrival destitute of everything through the fault of those at the fort who were responsible.

After holding a council on the situation in which I found myself, I was entreated by the savages to go down in order to provide for their needs, and I, who was more interested than they on account of my enterprise, seeing that I was in want of everything and unable to get supplies brought up quickly enough, came to the determination to go down and return again with diligence and to follow out the project which Your Highness will be good enough to examine.

Elle peut être persuadée que je ne négligeray rien pour la réussite d'une telle entreprise, et que je travailleray fortement à mettre toutes les nations en paix pour me procurer le chemin libre ; je suis même actuellement occupé à avoir une personne capable de faire une carte juste des endroits où je passeray ; je puis cepandant vous assurer, Monseigneur, que bien loin d'y faire aucun proffit, j'y mets beaucoup du mien et que je suis obéré considérablement, mais cela ne me fait point de peine, par l'espérance que j'ay de pouvoir réusir et que Sa Majesté y aura égard, ainsy que aux blessures que j'ay recues à son service, auquel j'ay l'honneur d'etre depuis un très long temps, suivant les certifficats dont je prends la liberté de vous envoyer cy joint, les copies visées de M[onsieu]r notre Général ; C'est pourquoy Monseigneur je supplie Votre Grandeur de vouloir bien me gratiffier pour mes longs

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Your Highness may be persuaded that I shall neglect nothing for the success of such an enterprise, and that I shall work hard to make peace between the tribes, so that I may have an unimpeded route, and at the present moment I am occupied in trying to get a person capable of making an accurate map of the places I shall pass through. I can, however, assure you, Monseigneur, that far from making any profit in the business, I am using up a considerable portion of my own means and am heavily burdened ; but that does not trouble me owing to the hope I have of succeeding and of obtaining some consideration from His Majesty for my achievements and for the wounds that I have received in his service in which I have had the honour of being for a very long time, as shown by the certificates which I take the liberty of sending you herewith [1] in copies certified by our General.

Wherefore, Monseigneur, I beg Your Highness to reward

[1] Certificates missing.

services, d'une compagnie, vû qu'il y en a plusieurs vacantes en ce pays, et d'une Croix de S[aint] Louis pour mes blessures ; C'est la grâce que j'attends de vous, et celle de me croire avec un très profond respect, Monseigneur,

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur.

LAVERENDRYE.

A Quebec ce Premier 8bre. 1737.

A M. le M[arqu]is de Beauharnois.

A V[ersai]lles le 22 avril 1737.

M.

J'ay receu les lettres que vous m'avés ecrites les 13, 14, 15 et 16 8bre. de l'année d[ernie]re et j'en ay rendu compte au Roy. . . .

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me for my long services by a company, seeing that there are several vacant in this country, and with a Cross of St. Louis [1] for my wounds. Such is the favour that I look for from you, and that of believing me, with most profound respect, Monseigneur,

Your very humble and obedient servant,

LA VÉRENDRYE.

Maurepas to Beauharnois.

Versailles, April 22, 1737.

Monsieur,

I received the letters you wrote me on the 13th, 14th, 15th and 16th of October of last year, and have laid them before the King. . . .

[1] The Order of St. Louis was instituted by Louis XIV in April 1696 by Letters Patent, with three grades: grand cross, commander, and chevalier. Only the third grade was conferred upon Canadian officers. The order was suppressed in 1792 under the first Revolution, re-established in 1815 by Louis XVIII, and disappeared in the Revolution of 1830.

L'aventure arrivée au Convoy du Sr de la Veranderye est des plus facheuses, et doit faire craindre que l'on ne soit obligé d'abandonner tous les etablissemens qui ont eté faits par cet off[icie]r et même celuy des Scioux, surtout s'il a entrepris de vanger ce coup sur les Scioux des Prairies ; mais j'ay, co[mm]e vous, peine a croire qu'il ait pris un parti aussi contraire au bien du service. Quoyqu'il en soit, tout ce qui m'est revenu de ce qui a donné lieu a cet accident, me confirme dans le soupçon ou j'ay toujours eté, et que je ne vous ay pas même dissimulé, que la traitte du Castor avoit plus de part que toute autre chose a l'entreprise de la decouverte de la Mer de L'ouest de la part du Sr de la Veranderye. J'attens avec impatience que vous m'informiés des suittes de cette malheureuse affaire. . . .

The disaster which overtook the convoy of the Sieur de la Vérendrye is most annoying, and gives rise to the apprehension that it may be necessary to abandon all the establishments made by that officer, including the one among the Sioux, especially if he has undertaken to avenge this attack upon the Sioux of the Prairies ; but, like you, I find it difficult to believe that he has taken a course so opposed to the good of the service.

However that may be, all that has come to my knowledge as to the causes of that misadventure confirms the suspicion I have always entertained, and which I have not concealed from you, that the beaver trade had more to do than anything else with the Sieur de la Vérendrye's Western Sea expedition. I am impatient to hear from you the further consequences of this unhappy affair.

M. le M. de Beauharnois—14 8^{bre} 1737.
Extrait avec le Mem^{re}.

Monseigneur

J'ay reçeu la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 22^{e} Avril dernier.

Le S. De La Verendrye est descendu icy cette année, je l'ay, Monseigneur, fort blâmé d'avoir laissé son poste et luy ay fait connoître que ce n'étoit pas de cette façon qu'il réussiroit dans son entreprise. Il m'a dit que la scituation où il s'était trouvé, l'avoit empêché de pénétrer plus loin, il m'a remis le journal de sa marche, avec une carte des endroits où il a passé et une lettre, j'ay l'honneur de vous envoyer le tout.

Il a amené avec luy un chef sauvage pour me parler au nom de trois nations (Monsonis, Cristinaux et Assiniboils) et scavoir mon dessein au sujet du coup que les Scioux ont

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Beauharnois to Maurepas.

Quebec, October 14, 1737.

Monseigneur,

I have received the letter which you did me the honour to write me on the 22nd of April last. . . .

The Sieur de la Vérendrye came down this year and I blamed him, Monseigneur, severely for having left his post, and let him know that that was not the right way to succeed in his enterprise. He told me that the situation in which he found himself had prevented his penetrating further. He handed me the journal of his march, with a map of the places he had passed through, and a letter. I have the honour to send the whole to you.

He brought with him a savage chief to speak to me in the name of three tribes (Monsoni, Cree and Assiniboin), and to learn my intentions in regard to the attack made by

fait l'année dernière sur les françois ; ma réponse sera, Monseigneur, que je me vengeray d'abord, que j'en trouveray l'occasion et qu'en attendant ils seront les maîtres de continuer la guerre qu'ils ont toujours eu avec eux.

Je me souviens, Monseigneur, que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de me mander que vous pensiez que les vues du S. De L. Verendrye étoient de chercher du Castor et non pas de découvrir la mer de l'ouest, sans le coup qui est arrivé et les dettes que je luy connois, je pourois l'en soubçonner, mais je scay, Monseigneur, qu'il s'est trouvé sans vivres et personne pour l'acompagner dans sa route, d'ailleurs il ne sçavoit pas si on renvoyeroit des françois dans ces postes, il croyoit qu'on pouroit faire partir des engagés pour aller chercher les pelleteries et raporter les effets ; je l'ay averty que s'il descendoit, il ne monteroit plus, il m'a promis qu'il se rendroit l'année prochaine à 150 lieues de distance des

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the Sioux last year upon the French. My reply, Monseigneur, will be that I shall revenge myself in the first place, that I shall find a suitable occasion for doing so, and that meantime they were free to pursue the war that they had always been waging with them.

I remember, Monseigneur, that you did me the honour to inform me that you thought that the views of the Sieur de la Vérendrye were to hunt for beaver, not to discover the Western Sea. Were it not for the blow which fell upon him and the debts which I know him to have incurred I might have a similar suspicion ; but I know, Monseigneur, that he ran completely out of provisions and that he had no one to accompany him on the journey ; besides he did not know whether any Frenchmen would be sent back to these posts ; he thought that hired men might be sent to get the furs and bring back the goods.

I warned him that if he came down [again] he should not return, and he promised me that next year he would go

Oüatchipoüanes qu'on nomme à présent Koüathéattes, qu'il ira chez eux dans l'hyver et qu'au mois de septembre 1739, je recevrois la relation de son voyage, je luy ay dit que s'il me manquoit de parole je le ferois revenir.

M[onsieur le Marquis] de Beauharnois
14 *Octobre* 1737.

Ext. p[r]. le Roy.

Le S[ieu]r de la Véranderie qui est descendu cette année à Québec luy a remis le journal de sa marche.

[*Extrait de ce Journal.*]

M[onsieur] de Beauharnois marque qu'il a blâmé le S[ieu]r de la Véranderie d'avoir laissé son poste, mais que celuy cy

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as far as one hundred and fifty leagues from the country of the Ouachipouennes, who at present are called Koüathéattes, that he will reach them in the winter, and in the month of September 1739 I shall receive an account of his journey. I told him that if he did not keep his word to me I would call him back.[1]

Report of Beauharnois.

October 14, 1737.

The Sieur de la Vérendrye, who came down this year to Quebec, handed him the journal of his journey.

Extract from the Journal.[2]

. . . . . .

Monsieur de Beauharnois observes that he blamed the Sieur de la Vérendrye for leaving his post, but that the latter

[1] Remainder of letter relates to other matters.

[2] The extract which Beauharnois embodies in his report merely gives the substance of La Vérendrye's journal of 1736–37, for which see pp. 213–262.

s'est excusé sur la situation où il s'étoit trouvé, qui l'a empéché de pénétrer plus loin ; et il luy a promis que l'année prochaine il se rendroit à 150. lieues des Ouatchipouanes ou Kouatheattes, qu'il ira chez eux dans l'hiver, et qu'au mois de 7^{bre}. 1739 il luy envoyera la relation de son voyage.

Il a expliqué au chef des Nations sauvages que le S[ieu]r de la Véranderie a amené avec luy, qu'à la première occasion il vengeroit le sang des françois que les Scioux ont fait mourir et qu'en attendant ils étoient les maîtres de continuer la guerre qu'ils ont avec eux.

Sur ce qui avoit été observé l'année d^{re}. qu'on croyoit que les veues du S[ieu]r de la Véranderie étoient plustôt de chercher du castor que de découvrir la Mer de l'Ouest, M[onsieur] de Beauharnois répond que sans le coup qui luy est arrivé, et les dettes qu'il luy connoit, il pourroit l'en

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excused himself on the ground of the situation in which he was placed which made it impossible for him to go farther ; and he promised him that next year he would go within one hundred and fifty leagues of the Ouachipouennes or Koüathéattes, whom he will visit in the winter, and that in the month of September 1739 he will send him the narrative of his journey.

He [Beauharnois] explained to the Indian chief whom the Sieur de la Vérendrye brought with him that at the earliest opportunity he would avenge the blood of the French whom the Sioux had killed, and that meantime the Indian tribes were free to continue their war with them.

Regarding the observation made last year that it was believed that Sieur de la Vérendrye was more bent on looking for beaver than on discovering the Western Sea, Monsieur de Beauharnois admits that were it not for the misfortune that happened to him and the debts which he knows him to have incurred he might suspect that to be the case ; but

soupçonner ; mais que ces circonstances le déterminent à ne pas le croire. D'ailleurs le S[ieu]r de la Véranderie s'est trouvé sans vivres et n'ayant personne pour l'accompagner dans sa route, ainsy que cela est raporté dans l'extrait de sa relation.

A M. le Marquis de Beauharnois.

A Versailles le 23 Avril 1738.

M.

J'ai reçu la lettre que vous m'avés écrite le 14 8^{bre}. de l'année d[ernie]re avec les pieces qui y étoient jointes.

J'ai examiné avec attention le journal que vous m'avez envoyé du Sr De la Véranderye ; Et je vous avoüe que je n'ay pas êté peu surpris d'y voir le peu de progrès que cet off[ici]er a fait pour la decouverte de la mer de l'Oüest depuis le precedent memoire qu'il vous en avoit remis. Il ne paroit pas en effet que cette entreprise ait êté a beaucoup près

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that these circumstances prevent him from believing it. Moreover, the Sieur de la Vérendrye found himself without provisions, and had no one to accompany him on his route, as is reported in the extract from his narrative.

Maurepas to Beauharnois.

Versailles, April 23, 1738.

Monsieur,

I have received the letter you wrote me on the 14th of October of last year, with its enclosures.

I have examined with attention the journal of the Sieur de la Vérendrye that you have sent me, and I confess to you that I am considerably surprised at the little progress that officer has made towards the discovery of the Western Sea since the last report he made to you. To tell the truth, the enterprise does not appear to be nearly as far advanced as

aussy avancée qu'il y avoit lieu de l'esperer ; Et si l'on ne la pousse pas avec plus de vivacité, il ne faut pas se flatter d'en voir la fin. Je ne sais même si le zèle du Sr De la Veranderye est aussi pur que vous le supposés, et si les soupçons que j'en avois dêja conçus et que je ne vous ay pas laissé ignorer, ne se justifieront pas. Ce qui est de certain, c'est que la conduite qu'il a tenüe jusqu'à présent est très propre à les fortifier ; Et quelque chose qu'il puisse dire sur le d[erni]er voyage qu'il a fait à Montréal, il ne sauroit se justifier d'avoir ainsi abandonné son poste, au lieu de profiter du tems pour pénétrer plus loin. Quoiqu'il en soit, on ne peut pour le present qu'attendre ce qu'il fera : je souhaitte qu'il puisse detruire les soupçons auxquels il a donné lieu jusqu'a present ; Et je serois fort aise de voir qu'il eut fait assés de progrès pour cela dans le compte que vous serés en état de me rendre l'année prochaine des mouvemens qu'il aura faits.

Au reste, selon le raport que cet Off[ici]er fait dans son

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there was reason to expect ; and if it is not urged forward in a livelier fashion we cannot hope ever to see the end of it.

I am not at all sure that the zeal of the Sieur de la Vérendrye is as pure as you imagine, or that the suspicions I have already conceived, and have not disguised, will not turn out to have been justified. The course he has followed so far is certainly of a nature to strengthen them ; and whatever he may say about his last journey to Montreal, he cannot justify himself for having thus abandoned his post instead of availing himself of the time to push ahead.

All we can do, however, is to wait and see what he will do. I hope he may succeed in dissipating the suspicions for which he has given cause up to the present. I should be glad to find that he had made sufficient progress to produce that effect when the time comes for you to make your report next year on his proceedings.

According to the report that officer makes in his journal

journal des differens entretiens qu'il a eus avec les Chefs Monsonis, Cristinaux et Assiniboëls, il n'y auroit rien à desirer sur les dispo[siti]ons de ces Trois Nations à l'egard des françois ; Mais il y a si peu de fonds à faire sur ces sortes d'apparences, que ce n'est que le tems qui puisse faire connoitre à quoi l'on pourra s'en tenir solidement sur les veritables sentimens de ces Sauvages. En tout cas il est très important de les menager, et de les confirmer dans ceux qu'ils ont fait paroître ; Et c'est sur quoy je ne doute point que vous n'ayés donné les instructions et les ordres convenables au S. De la Veranderye.

J'ay examiné aussy la relation que le S^r^. De S^t^. Pierre vous a remise de ce qui s'est passé par raport à l'abandon du poste des Scioux. Vous verrés par le Mem[oi]re du Roy que S.M. n'a pas appris sans peine cet evenement. Après les esperances que vous aviés données sur le nouvel etablissement de ce poste, on auroit dû croire qu'il seroit plus solide ;

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of the different conversations he has had with the chiefs of the Monsoni, Cree and Assiniboin, the dispositions of these three tribes towards the French seem to be all that can be desired ; but there is so little dependence to be placed on appearances that time alone will tell how far we can count on the solidity of their sentiments. In any case it is very important to treat them well and to strengthen the friendship they profess. On that point I do not doubt you have given all proper instructions and directions to the Sieur de la Vérendrye.

I have also examined the report that the Sieur de Saint-Pierre made to you of what took place in connection with the abandonment of the post in the Sioux country. You will see by the King's memorandum the regret His Majesty felt at learning of this occurrence. Considering the hopes you expressed in regard to the new establishment, we were entitled to believe that it would prove more solid ; for it

Car il n'etoit pas à présumer que vous l'eussiés entrepris sans vous assûrer des veritables sentimens des Scioux. Il est fâcheux que l'evenement fasse voir le contraire.

Je suis surpris au surplus qu'en rendant compte de la retraitte des françois et de l'evacüation du poste, vous ne soyés entré dans aucun detail sur cette aventure. Vous auriés dû en effet me faire part de vos reflexions sur les inconveniens qui en peuvent resulter et de vos vües pour prevenir ces inconveniens ; Et j'attens qu'en m'informant des suittes qu'elle aura eües vous me rendiés compte des mesures que vous aurés prises pour empêcher qu'elle n'en ait de préjudiciables a la Colonie. Dans ces sortes d'evenemens il faut que vous me mettiés en etat d'en rendre compte à S.M. et de prendre ses ordres pour vous les faire savoir ; Et c'est à quoy je vous prie de ne pas manquer à l'avenir. Je suis parfaitem[en]t M.

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was not to be presumed that you would have undertaken to establish it without having assured yourself of the real sentiments of the Sioux. It is unfortunate that the event has proved the contrary.

I am surprised moreover that, in giving an account of the retirement of the French and the evacuation of the post, you entered into no detail of the incident. You ought really to have informed me of your reflections upon the disadvantages which might result, and your views as to how best they might be prevented. And I expect that, in informing me of the consequences of what has happened, you shall also report to me the measures you have taken to prevent any harm to the colony. When anything of this kind occurs you must put me in a position to report to His Majesty, and receive from him instructions to convey to you. I beg that you will not fail to do this in future.

I am, Monsieur, etc.

[*Lettre de Monsieur le Marquis de Beauharnois à Quebec le* 1*er Octobre* 1738.]

Monseigneur,

J'ay reçeu la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 23. Avril dernier. Vous avez pû remarquer par ma dépêche du 14. Octobre de l'année dernière que je n'ay pas été satisfait du peu de diligence que le S[ieur] de la Vérendrye apportoit pour parvenir à sa découverte et que je l'ay très blâmé d'être descendu sans apporter avec luy d'autres connoissances sur son entreprise que celles qui étoient renfermées dans le journal qu'il m'avoit remis et que j'ay eu l'honneur de vous envoyer, j'ay ajouté que je me livrerois volontiers aux soupçons que sa conduite pouvoit donner qu'il n'avoit d'autres veues que d'y chercher du castor, sans l'accident qui étoit arrivé à ses engagés et le peu de vivres

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Beauharnois to Maurepas.

Quebec, October 1, 1738.

Monseigneur,

I have received the letter which you did me the honour to write to me on the twenty-third of April last. You may have remarked by my despatch of the fourteenth of October last year that I was not satisfied with the lack of diligence shown by the Sieur de la Vérendrye in pushing forward his journey of discovery, and that I blamed him seriously for having come down without bringing with him any fuller information in connection with his enterprise than what was contained in the journal he had sent me, and which I had the honour to forward to you.

I added that I could easily credit the suspicions which his conduct might warrant that the only object of his pursuit was beaver, were it not for the misfortune that had befallen his hired men and the small quantity of provisions and

et munitions qui étoient dans son poste et que d'ailleurs cela le mettoit dans l'incertitude de sçavoir si les intéressés renverroient des françois pour chercher les pelleteries et s'il s'en trouveroit qui voulussent pénétrer dans ces endroits après le coup que les Sçioux avoient fait sur le party qui descendoit.

Ces raisons rassemblées me paraissent en former une assez solide pour ne pas étendre davantage les reproches que je luy aurois pû faire et sur ce qu'il m'a promis de la poursuivre avec toute la vivacité dont il seroit capable lorsqu'il seroit arrivé à son fort, je me suis contenté pour le tems de me rendre à ces raisons et de luy faire sentir que non seulement je le ferois revenir, mais qu'il perdroit totalement ma confiance s'il n'effectuoit promptement ce que l'on attendoit de son zèle.

Ainsy, Monseigneur, j'ay lieu de penser qu'il mettra tout en usage pour éloigner ceux que vous avez sur son compte

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munitions in store at his post. I acknowledged that these circumstances caused him uncertainty as to whether the interested parties would send Frenchmen for the skins, and if any men would be found who would care to penetrate into those regions after the deadly attack that the Sioux had made upon the party that was coming down.

These reasons taken together seem to me to form a sufficient justification for not blaming him to the extent that I might have done; and in view of his promise to pursue the exploration with all the energy of which he was capable after his return to his fort, I accepted his excuses for the moment but gave him to understand not only that I would bring him back, but that he would lose my confidence entirely if he did not promptly accomplish what was expected of his zeal.

Consequently, Monseigneur, I have ground for thinking that he will leave nothing undone to remove from your mind

et que j'ay crû ne luy devoir pas laisser ignorer afin de le porter à une plus particulière attention, c'est ce que vous serez en état de vériffier par la relation de ses nouvelles découvertes qu'il doit m'envoyer et que j'auray l'honneur de vous adresser.

Au surplus, les liaisons qu'il a faites avec les nations de ces continents-là, ne peuvent procurer que de très grands avantages à la colonie, surtout s'il est reconnu par la suite qu'elles soient véritablement attachées aux françois. je luy ai particulièrement recommandé de les entretenir dans les bonnes dispositions qu'elles ont fait paroître et afin d'éloigner les sujets qui pourroient déranger nos établissements chez eux et appaiser les troubles que les Scioux y ont excités, je luy ay fait sentir qu'il seroit important de travailler à concilier les esprits et à parvenir s'il est possible à une paix

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the suspicions that you are entertaining regarding him, and which I thought it right not to let him be ignorant of, so that he might be brought to give a more particular attention to the enterprise. How this may turn out you will be able to verify for yourself by the narrative of his new discoveries which he is to send me and which I shall have the honour of forwarding to you.

There is the further consideration that the connections he has established with the tribes of those vast territories cannot fail to procure very great advantages for the colony, particularly if it becomes evident in the sequel that they are truly attached to the French. I particularly urged upon him to cultivate those good dispositions which they have so far manifested; and, in order to remove all causes which might disturb our establishments in their country, and to appease the troubles which the Sioux have stirred up, I impressed upon him that it would be important to labour for a general reconciliation, and thus to arrive at a peace

qui nous soit également avantageuse tant pour son entreprise que pour l'exploitation des mines de cuivre si la réussite peut avoir lieu, c'est ce qu'il doit exécuter en proffitant des moyens qui pourront s'offrir. J'ay receu une lettre que le fils de cet officier m'a écrite du Lac des Bois le 11e. May dernier par laquelle il me marque que les Assiniboëls au nombre de 800. étoient partis à la fin d'Avril pour aller vanger les françois sur les Scioux et que les Cristinaux et Monsonis avoient levé aussy chacun leur party, sans en marquer le nombre, mais que le petite vérole s'étant mise parmy eux, ils avoient été obligez de relâcher avec une perte considérable de leurs gens que la maladie avoit enlevez, je n'aurois pas été fâché que ce projet eut eû son exécution pour faire repentir cette nation de la mauvaise action qu'elle a commise, mais je regarde d'un autre côté qu'il seroit très désavantageux que cette

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which would be equally advantageous for his discovery and for the exploitation of the copper mines, if success in this matter is possible. Such is the task marked out for him if means for its accomplishment should offer.

I have received a letter which the son of that officer wrote me from the Lake of the Woods on the eleventh of last May, by which he informs me that the Assiniboin to the number of eight hundred had left at the end of April to go and take vengeance on the Sioux for the Frenchmen [they had killed], and that the Cree and the Monsoni had also raised war parties, though he does not give their numbers, but that small-pox having broken out among them they were obliged to stop with the loss of a considerable number of their people carried off by that disease.

I should not have been sorry if this expedition had succeeded, so as to cause that tribe [the Sioux] to repent of the dastardly action which they had committed; but, on the other hand, I consider that it would be very unfortunate if this state of hostility should continue, for the reasons

division continuât par les raisons que j'ay eû l'honneur de vous expliquer et auxquelles j'ajouteray qu'une guerre allumée dans des pays aussy éloignés et où les françois sont intéressez, renverse non seulement l'espérance des succes qu'on se pourroit promettre, mais est encore d'une difficile exécution pour se procurer la tranquilité par la force des armes. Ce sont ces motifs, Monseigneur, qui m'ont déterminé à recommandér au S[ieur] de la Vérendrye de préférer les voyes d'accommodement et de conciliation plustôt que de les porter à la vangeance. Son fils me marque dans la lettre qu'il m'a écrite que les sauvages attendoient le retour de son Père avec impatience et qu'ils avoient fait un grand fort à la grande fourche des Assiniboëls pour y retirer les françois, cela marque le désir qu'ils font paroître de plus en plus de nous être attachés et le cas qu'ils font de l'alliance que l'on a faite avec eux.

Ce que j'ay eû l'honneur de vous marquer, Monseigneur,

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which I have had the honour to explain to you, to which I shall add that a war kindled in these distant countries, in which the French are interested, not only overthrows any hope of success one might entertain, but creates a very difficult situation because it is almost impossible to establish tranquillity by force of arms.

These, Monseigneur, are the reasons which determined me to advise the Sieur de la Vérendrye to promote measures of agreement and conciliation, rather than schemes of vengeance. His son tells me in the letter he wrote that the savages were awaiting the return of his father with impatience, and that they had constructed a large fort at the grand forks of the Assiniboine to shelter the French. That shows the desire which they more and more manifest to be attached to us and the importance they assign to the alliance that has been made with them.

What I have had the honour, Monseigneur, to point out

en différentes occasions de l'inconstance des sauvages et du peu de fonds qu'il y avoit à faire sur des esprits que l'yvresse ou les superstitions gouvernent, peut justiffier que l'espérance que j'avois donnée de la solidité du nouvel établissement du Poste des Scioux, n'étoit fondée que sur les belles apparences qu'ils faisoient paraître, sans que je pusse être garant de la durée, ce que j'ay pris la liberté de vous marquer à ce sujet tiroit toute la force des paroles qu'ils m'avoient adressées, du désir qu'ils avoient que le françois fût avec eux, et enfin de la mortiffication où ils sembloient être qu'on les eût abandonnez.

Ce furent ces raisons qui me déterminèrent à le rétablir et dont j'eus l'honneur de vous faire part dans le tems, je saisis d'autant plus volontiers cette occasion, qu'outre que Sa Majesté ayant paru avoir à cœur le premier qui y fut fait, je considéray que la rupture avec les Renards étant la seule cause de l'évacuation de ce Poste sans que les Scioux

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to you on different occasions concerning the inconstancy of the savages, and the slight reliance that can be placed upon minds governed by intemperance or superstition, may justify you in thinking that the hope I held out of the solidity of the establishment of a new post in the Sioux territory might only be founded on fair appearances of which I could not guarantee the duration; but what I took the liberty of observing on this subject derived all its force from the words they addressed to me, the desire they felt that the French should abide with them, and finally the mortification they seemed to experience when they had been abandoned.

These were the reasons that determined me to re-establish it, as I had the honour to inform you at the time. I seized the occasion all the more eagerly because apart from the fact that His Majesty appeared to take an interest in the first that was built, I considered that, as the only cause for the evacuation was the rupture with the Foxes, the Sioux having

jusqu'alors eussent donné lieu à aucun soupçon capable de faire douter de leur fidélité, je ne devois pas balancer à prendre mon party sur un objet aussy intérressant pour la colonie et qui m'avoit été si fort recommandé.

Je sens, Monseigneur, qu'il est fâcheux que de si belles espérances se trouvent détruites par des motifs aussy peu solides que ceux qui font agir les sauvages, mais leur caractère est tel et leurs mœurs si bisares et si peu conduites par le sens ordinaire, que ces génies abandonnent facilement tous les avantages qu'ils auront quelquefois désirés depuis long-tems pour les sacrifier au souvenir d'une vangeance qu'ils méditeront de tirer d'une nation avec laquelle on les pense souvent très unis où à ce que l'yvresse leur dictera d'entreprendre, vous devez juger, Monseigneur, du fond que l'on peut faire sur de semblables esprits. C'est néanmoins la façon d'agir de tous les sauvages, et vous avez pû aussy

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given us no reason up to that time for suspecting their fidelity, I ought not to hesitate to come to a decision upon a matter of so much interest to the colony and which had been so strongly recommended to me.

I feel, Monseigneur, that it is a most annoying thing that hopes so bright should be destroyed for causes so trifling as those which move the minds of the savages, but their character is such and their manners are so odd and so little governed by ordinary sense, that they throw away on the impulse of the moment all the advantages which they have long enjoyed and sacrifice them to the recollection of some past wrong for which they will plan vengeance upon a tribe with which they are often believed to be closely united, or to some whim suggested to them in a fit of intoxication.

You can judge, Monseigneur, how much reliance can be placed on minds of that order. Such, however, is the mode of acting of all the savages, and you may have remarked by

remarquer par les comptes que j'ay l'honneur de vous rendre chaque année des Pays d'en haut, que je suis continuellement occupé à concilier des nations la plus part même parens et alliés et dont la guerre entr'eux n'est souvent occasionnée que par quelques jeunes gens yvres ou qui par inconstance aiment à répandre le sang, c'est le goût et le génie des sauvages.

À l'égard du compte que vous me marquez, Monseigneur, ne vous avoir pas rendu sur ce qui a donné lieu à la dernière évacuation de ce Poste, j'ay pensé que la relation que je vous adressois et qui m'avoit été remise par le S[ieur] de S[ain]t Pierre pouvoit supléer au détail que vous me demandez et que je n'aurois pû établir que sur cette même relation, ce qu'il y a de certain c'est que les plus forts motifs étoient fondez sur les dangers où il se seroit trouvé exposé avec les françois après le coup que les Scioux venoient de faire sur les voyageurs de M[onsieur] de la Vérendrye, et il m'a paru

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the account which I have the honour to render you every year of the upper country, that I am continually occupied in reconciling tribes which are for the most part related and allied to one another, and the war between which is often occasioned only by a few young men who have got drunk, or who through sheer levity want to shed blood. Such is the inclination, such the genius of the savage.

In regard to my failure, which you point out, Monseigneur, to give you an account of what led to the last evacuation of that post, I thought that the report given to me by the Sieur de Saint-Pierre, and which I addressed to you, might supply the detail which you apply for, and which I could only have furnished on the strength of that same report.

What is certain is that the chief reason was the danger to which he and the Frenchmen with him would have been exposed after the attack of the Sioux upon Monsieur de la Vérendrye's voyageurs ; and it seemed to me very prudent

fort prudent au S[ieur] de S[ain]t Pierre après avoir reconnu le cachet du Père Jésuite qu'un Scioux avoit attaché à son oreille et quelques autres marques qui ne luy faisoient point douter du meurtre qui étoit arrivé, d'avoir fait sa retraite et de quitter un endroit où le nom françois n'étoit plus d'aucune considération et qu'il ne se trouvoit pas en état de faire respecter. Quant aux inconvénients qui en peuvent résulter et de mes veues pour les prévenir, j'ay désjà eû l'honneur de vous observer que les suites de cette affaire ne pouvoient qu'opérer un grand dérangement dans les pays d'en haut et surtout très contraires aux entreprises des S[ieu]rs de la Ronde et de la Vérandrye et que ma pensée étoit de tranquiliser les esprits, et que j'avois recommandé au S[ieur] de la Verendrye d'y contribuer en tout ce qu'il

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on the part of the Sieur de Saint-Pierre after he had recognized the seal of the Jesuit Father attached to the ear of a Sioux,[1] and certain other signs which left no doubt that murder had been committed, to have made his retreat and quitted a place where the French name no longer enjoyed any consideration, and where he was unable to cause it to be respected.

As to the inconveniences which may result and my proposals for averting them, I have already had the honour of observing to you that the consequences of this affair could not fail to cause much disarrangement of plans in the upper country and prove particularly unfavourable to the enterprises of the Sieurs de la Ronde and de la Vérendrye, and that my idea was to try to tranquillize the minds [of the natives], and that I had recommended the Sieur de la Vérendrye to do all in his power to that end. I have urged the same

[1] 'On the following day [September 17, 1736] there came with three young men a chief who had a silver seal hanging from his ear. The Sieur de Saint-Pierre, perceiving it, asked him where he had got it; the chief did not reply, and began to laugh. The officer tore off the seal with the ear, telling him he was very bold to appear before him with such a thing, and had him turned out of the fort' (letter of Saint-Pierre to Beauharnois, October 14, 1737).

pourroit, j'ay fait les mêmes recommandations au S[ieur] de la Ronde pour calmer une guerre qui commence à bien s'allumer entre les sauvages Sauteux de son Poste et les Scioux.

Je joins, Monseigneur, l'extrait des lettres qu'il m'a écrite sur les différens coups que ces nations ont faits les uns sur les autres et sur les démarches réciproques qu'ils ont faites pour parler de paix ; cet officier me marque qu'il espère qu'elle se fera, d'autant plus que ces sauvages sont alliés et en effet il y a lieu de s'en flatter par les entrevues qu'ils ont désirés avoir ensemble presque dans le tems que leur rupture s'est déclarée et cela revient à ce que j'ay eû l'honneur de vous marquer cy devant, que le génie des sauvages est de ne se pouvoir passer de faire la guerre ou pour mieux dire de tuer quelques hommes, et ils n'ont presque jamais de raisons solides qui ayent pû les y obliger.

Voilà, Monseigneur, tout le compte que je puis avoir

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policy on the Sieur de la Ronde in order to calm down a war which is clearly beginning to be kindled between the Saulteur of his post and the Sioux.

I annex, Monseigneur, an extract from the letters which he wrote me respecting the different acts of aggression which these tribes have made upon one another, and respecting the steps which have been taken reciprocally to discuss peace. That officer tells me that he entertains hope that peace will be concluded, inasmuch as these savages are allies ; and in fact there is reason, from the interviews which they have sought to have with one another almost from the time the rupture took place, to flatter ourselves that such will be the case ; and that just comes to what I have had the honour to remark before, that to the savage nature war, or rather the killing of men, is a kind of necessity ; seldom do they go to war for any solid reason.

This, Monseigneur, is about all that it is in my power

Lac Rouge.

Rivière du Lac (Supérieur)

Portage

Branche du Mississippi

Mississippi Pouar

Sioux des bois

Sioux des bois

Pointe des bois Forts

Rivière rouge

Rivière des Manitanes, qu'on croit être le

Missouri.

Garrigarakie

La Belle Nation

Les Brochets

Nation du Serpent

Hauteur des Terres

Rivière des Assiniboilles

Rivière du Coeur

Pays des assiniboilles

Rivière aux glaces

Lac des Prairies

Fort La Reine

Fort St Charles

Lac aux Rats Blancs

marais

Ha...

L'eau trouble

R. de l'eau trouble

5 10 20 30 40 50 100 150 200 250

Echelle de Lieues.

Village Sauvage

Poskoyak

Rivière du Brochet

R. blanche

Rapide

Fort bourbon

Riviere du fond de Lac

Fort anglais

Lac Bourbon

Esles au fer

Détroit de la tête de boeuf

Lac Gouinipigue

e biches

maurepas.

N

E

S

O

Lac
mamigoine

Ft Gamanestigouya

Superieur

Fort anglais

fond de La Baye D'Hudson.

BAYE DE HUDSON

l'honneur de vous rendre sur cette affaire qui n'a eû aucune suite fâcheuse par raport aux françois depuis le coup fait sur les voyageurs du S[ieur] de la Verendrye et je me flatte que vous approuverez la préférence que j'ay crû devoir donner de chercher à tranquiliser les esprits, plustôt que de travailler à s'assurer la punition des Scioux, qu'ils méritent bien à la vérité, mais dont l'exécution présente bien des difficultez qui sont presque insurmontables, au surplus j'attendray les ordres de Sa Maj[es]té sur ce qu'elle déterminera à cette occasion.

Je suis avec un très profond respect, Monseigneur
Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur

BEAUHARNOIS.

A Quebec le 1er
Octobre 1738.

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to tell you in regard to that affair which has had no unhappy result, so far as the French are concerned, since the descent made upon the voyageurs of the Sieur de la Vérendrye; and I flatter myself that you will approve of my course in striving to tranquillize the country generally rather than to assure the punishment of the Sioux, which, richly as they merit it, would present many and almost insurmountable difficulties in the execution. I shall, however, be prepared to carry out any decision which His Majesty may arrive at in connection with this matter.

I am, Monseigneur, with very profound respect,
Your very humble and very obedient servant,

BEAUHARNOIS.

Journal en forme de Letre, depuis le 20 de juillét 1738. de mon Despard de michilimakina jusqu'en may 1739. Envoyé à Monsieur le Marquis de Beauharnois, Commandeur des ordres militaire de S^{t} Louis, Gouverneur et Lieutenant Général de toute la Nouvelle-France terres et païs de la Louisiane, par son très humble serviteur Lauerendrye, Lieutenant d'une Compagnie du Destachement de la marine En Canada, chargé de ses ordres pour la Découverte de la mer d'oüést.

J'eus l'honneur Monsieur L'année dernière de vous marquér mon Despard de michilimakina, en six Canots, vingt-deux hommes Esquipées d'une manière à pouvoir faire grande diligence, je me rendis au païs plats le premier d'aoust le matin, le dousième de mon Despard, j'y arresté environ trois heures pour parler aux sauvages de votre part, je n'y trouvé que le chef de gamanestigouya quelque vieillard, peu de jeunes gens,—jauois déja sçû qu'il estoient tous partis pour aller chez les Sioux, je fis assemblér ce qu'il y auoit

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Journal in the form of a letter covering the period from the 20th of July 1738, when I left Michilimackinac, to May, 1739, sent to the Marquis de Beauharnois.

I had the honour, Monsieur, last year to inform you of my departure from Michilimackinac with six canoes carrying twenty-two men, equipped in such a way as to travel fast.[1] I arrived at the flat country on the first of August in the morning, twelve days after setting out, and stopped there about three hours to speak to the savages in your name. I found only the chief of Kaministikwia and some old men, very few young men. I had previously learnt that they had all left to go to the Sioux country. I got together, however, what men there were, and made them a present of some

[1] The journal covering the period from August 1737 to July 1738 is missing.

d'hommes, Leurs fis un present de tabac et bléd qu'il estime plus que les marchandises que L'on leurs donne à grand marché, je commencé mon discours par les blamer de ce qu'ils estoient allés en guerre, contre la parole qu'ils m'auoient donnée l'année dernière en passant chez eux, de ne rien entreprendre que à mon retour que je Leurs apportois votre parole, que vous n'estiés point dans le sentiment pour le present que l'on fit guerre, qu'on chaquun se tient tranquile sur leurs terres, que vous aviez vos raisons pour cela vous les feriez auertir si vous aviez besoin de leurs services, je leurs fit part ensuite des Nouuelles dont ils sont fort curieux.

Le Chef me répondit sur l'heure, mon père, ne sois pas faché contre nous, le partis s'est leués contre nostre volonté, C'est le Canard nom sauvage de Mr de la plante, qui a voulu dire vraye, parlant avec des beaux presents de la part de nôtre père, ce que tu nous voye icy nous n'avons point voulu

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tobacco and corn, which they think more of than they do of the goods that are given to them at a low price.

I began my speech by blaming them for having gone to war contrary to the promise they had made last year, when I was passing their way, that they would not undertake anything of the kind till my return. I was now bringing them, I said, a message from you to the effect that, for certain reasons, you did not want war made at present, but desired that all should remain peacefully on their lands ; if you had need of their services you would let them know. I then gave them some general news regarding which they are very curious.

The chief at once replied : ' My Father, do not be angry with us. It was against our will that war parties were raised. It was the Duck (Canard, Indian name for M. de la Plante) [1] who wanted it really, speaking in the name of our Father and handing out fine presents. Those of us whom you see here refused to listen to him, as we were awaiting your return.

[1] Probably Clément Leriger, Sieur de la Plante.

l'escouter, atendant ton retour, nous ne sommes pas des enfans pour auoir deux paroles, tu à été longtemps auec nous tu nous dois conoistre, nous auons toujours esté ataché à nostre père, nous le serons toujours, je les encouragés dans ces bons sentiments, de n'escoutér par la suite que des chefs chargés de vos ordres, de bien chasser pour fournir le besoin à leurs famille, que par vôtre bonté les françois leurs venoit aportér sur leurs terres, je leurs dis adieu voulant profiter d'un bon temps le reste du jour, j'arrivai à gamanestigouya Le 5. Je fis publiér vos ordres et laissé copie aux françois qui gardoit le fort ; Concernant ce poste et de tekamamihoüenne pour estre remis à Mr de Lamarque qui y deuoit arriver au premiér jour, je partis Le 6. au matin, me rendis au Lac de tekamamihouenne, Le 22 du present mois, je trouuée vn chef de guerre, Monsony, auec une petite bande

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We are not children, what we say we mean. You have been a long time with us, and ought to know us well : We have always been attached to our Father and always shall be.'

I encouraged them in these good sentiments, advising them to listen in future to such chiefs only as had orders from you ; to be active in hunting so as to be able to provide for supplying the necessities of their families, by means of the goods which, through your kindness, the French would bring within their reach on their own lands. I bade them adieu, as the weather was fine and I wanted to take advantage of it for the rest of the day.

On the 5th I arrived at Kaministikwia. I published your orders—leaving a copy with the Frenchmen who were guarding the fort—concerning this fort and that of Tecamamiouen,[1] the written copy to be handed to M. de Lamarque who was expected to arrive immediately. I left on the 6th in the morning and went to lake Tecamamiouen.

On the 22nd of the present month I found a Monsoni

[1] Fort St. Pierre.

qui m'attendoit près du petit destroit dans le dit lac ils me prierent de vouloir bien camper de bon heure, pour leurs faire part des nouvelles, je leurs accordés et leurs fis un present de votre part, Leurs fis ensuite la Lecture des responces, que vous aviés eu la bonté de faire, à leurs paroles de se tenir tranquiles pour le présent de bien garder leurs terres, enfin que les françois qui venoient de si loing leurs aporter leurs besoin, trouvasse toujour le chemin libre, le chef me répondit—je te remercy mon père, d'avoir eu pitié de nous, je vais en porter la nouvelle à tous nos gens qui sont après à faire de la folle avoine, je [les] rendrés bien joyeux de ton retour, et en leurs contant la volonté de nostre père des paroles que tu nous a aporté et le recit que les vieux vient de me faire, tant de nôtre père, que de tout ce qu'il à veü là-bas, tu vas trouuer bien du monde à ton fort du lac des bois, tous les chefs t'y atende, en finissant de leurs

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war chief with a small band near to the little narrows in that lake. They begged me to camp early so as to give them the news. I consented to do so and made them a present from you, after which I read the replies which you had been so good as to make to their message, to the effect that they were to keep quiet for the present, to guard their lands well, in order that the French who came from so far to bring them things that they wanted might always find the road open.

The chief replied to me: 'I thank you, my Father, for having had pity on us. I shall carry the news to all our people who are in the meadows gathering the wild oats. I shall make them joyful when I tell them of your return and of the will of our Father as expressed in the words you have brought us, also of the account the old man has just given me, not only of our Father but of all that he saw down there. You will find many people at your fort of the Lake of the Woods; all the chiefs are waiting for you.'

parler, je leurs recommandé déstre toujours bien fidel aux françois, ne point oublier vostre parole bien chasser pour contenter les trésteurs, il me répondit auéc de grande acclamations de reconnoisance, en massurant ne jamais oublier tout ce que je luy auois dit, je l'encouragé de mon mieux me rendis au fort St-Charles, lac des bois. le 31. je n'y trouuée point LaColle chef des Monsony, je l'envoyés auertir, voulant parler à [tous] Les chefs ensemble, je diferés a leurs parlér jusqueaux 3 de septembre ou je rassemblée tous les principeaux dans ma Chambre, leur fis [vn] présent de vostre part, aux trois chefs, LaColle, LamiCoine et le Chenail dont j'ay parlé plusieurs fois dans mes mémoires précédents, je commencée par les responces à leurs paroles que vous auiés eu la [bonté] de leurs faire apuyant fort sur chaque article, enfin de leurs faire comprendre la bonté que vous auiés pour eux,

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In concluding my speech to them I urged them to be always faithful to the French, and not to forget their instructions, also to hunt well so as to satisfy the traders. He replied with strong expressions of gratitude, assuring me that he would never forget what I had said to him. I did my best to encourage him.

On the 31st I arrived at fort St. Charles, Lake of the Woods. I did not find La Colle, the Monsoni chief, there, so I sent to notify him. As I wished to speak to [all] the chiefs together I deferred doing so till the 3rd of September, when I assembled all the principal ones in my room.

I made a present in your name to each of the three chiefs, La Colle, Lamicoine [1] and Lechenaiîl, of whom I have spoken several times in previous memoirs. I commenced by the replies you had been so good as to make to their message, dwelling strongly upon each point, in order to make them understand the kindly feeling you had for them, and that

[1] La Mikouenne.

que tout ce que [vous] leurs permetiés leurs estoit très assuré, autant que de leurs costé ils seroient obéissants a uostre paroles, je sçauois que le vieux que jauois mené auéc moy chargé de leurs paroles quoique les mains vide, leurs auoit fait vn fidèle raport des bontés que [vous] auiés eu de luy, il ne cessoit de faire vostre Eloge, qu'ils auoient vn bon père qu'il faloit menagér en faisant sa volonté, La Colle répondit pour tous les autres, qu'il ne cessoit de pleurer mon fils et tous les françois que le lac estoit encor rouge de leur s[ang] qui demandait vengence, ce qu'il n'auoit encore peu faire comme il auroit souhaité, ce n'estoit point à eux gens sans esprit à demander les raisons que vous auiés, de se tenir tranquiles po[ur] Le présent qu'ils estoit enfants obéissants, accordoit à vostre uolonté, garderoit Leurs terres, comme vous leur ordoniés, esperant toujours que vous tireriés vengence par la suite du malheureux coup que Les Sioux

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whatever you promised them was sure, so long as they on their side were obedient to your words. I knew that the old man whom I had taken with me to carry their message, though with empty hands, had made them a faithful report of your kindness to him. In fact he never ceased praising you, saying that they had a good Father whose favour they should seek to retain by obedience.

La Colle replied for all the rest, saying that he did not cease to weep for my son and all the Frenchmen [who had been murdered], that the lake was still red with their blood, which cried for vengeance, a vengeance that he had never been able to wreak as he would have wished. However, it was not for them, persons without intelligence, to demand your reasons for wishing them to keep quiet for the present. They were obedient children, and yielded to your will; they would keep on their own lands as you had directed, still hoping that you would later take vengeance for the wretched deed that the Sioux had wrought on their

avoit fait sur leurs terres, cependant que vous estiés maître de chatier comme de pardonner, qu'il vous remercioit aux noms de tous et vous prioit de les reconnoître pour vos véritables enfants, qu'ils nous seroit toujours fidèles, vous leur demandiés de garder leurs terres, céstoit Leurs interest, Lamicoine me fit de grands remerciments du bon soin que j'avois eu de son frère, c'est du vieux que j'avois menés auec moi qu'il auoit apreendés de ne le plus reuoir, me priant de vous assurer de sa reconnoissance, qu'il noubliroit de sa vie le bien que vous aviés fait à son frère, qu'il seroit luy et les siens toujours fort atachés aux françois, que mon retour auoit aporté la joye à tout que Leur joye ne seroit pas longue selon ce que son frere luy auoit dit que j'allois iuerner bien loing, qu'il me prioit de ne les point abandonner, si je voulois m'esloigner d'eux de leurs laisser vn de mes enfants, qu'il

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[his people's] soil. Nevertheless it rested with you to chastise or to pardon, and he thanked you in the name of all, and begged you to recognize them as your true children, and that they would always be faithful to us. You had asked them to guard their lands; it was to their interest to do so.

Lamicoine thanked me earnestly for the good care I had taken of his brother, that is to say of the old man that I had taken with me, whom he feared he should never see again. He begged me to assure you of his gratitude, and say that, as long as he lived, he would never forget the kindness you had shown to his brother, and that he and his would always be attached to the French. My return, he said, had brought joy to every one, but their joy would not be of long duration, according to what his brother had said, namely that I was going to winter far away from them. He begged me not to abandon them, but, if I was bent on going away, to leave them one of my sons. He would like to have it in

voudroit estre en pouuoir de me suivre qui le feroit d'un grand cœur, que son frère et son neveu qui s'atendoit à me suivre tiendroit sa place, je les encouragés à tenir leurs paroles et de bien chasser enfin de fournir aux besoins de leurs familles, que si j'allois plus loing c'estoit vôtre volonté, je voulois augmentér le nombre de uos enfants, que je leur laissois mon fils aynée à ma place, qui estoit adopté de leurs nations, leurs annonceroit vostre parole. Le conseil finit par de grand remerciments, je songés ensuite à me disposés à partir, je fis recevoir mon fils aynée commandant a mon apsence et fis publier un ordre, amenant les deux autres auec moy, je differé a partir jusques aux 11 de septembre, attendant Mr de Lamarque à qui j'aouis promis de ne point presér ma marche pour luy donner occasion de me joindre m'ayant promis à michilimakina de faire diligence et cela pour venir avec moy dans l'automne à la Descouverte des

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his power to follow me, which he would do most cheerfully ; his brother, however, and his nephew, who expected to follow me, would take his place.

I encouraged them to keep their word and to be diligent in hunting in order to provide for the wants of their families, adding that if I was going farther it was in accordance with your wish : I wanted to increase the number of your children, and, in my stead, I was leaving my eldest son, who had been adopted by their tribes and would announce to them your word. The council concluded with great thanksgivings.

I then thought of the arrangements for my departure. I caused my son to be acknowledged as commandant in my absence, and published an order detaching the other two to accompany me. I delayed leaving until the 11th of September, awaiting M. de Lamarque, to whom I had promised not to hurry my journey, so as to give him a chance of catching up to me, he having promised at Michilimackinac to make haste with the object of accompanying me in the autumn

mantannes que si deuant on apeloit ouachipouanne selon les monsony, Courtchouatte, Les Crix, mantannes c'est le nom de la nations—me voyant au dix du mois qu'il n'ariuoit point, et tout en bon ordre tant pour le fort que pour mon despard, je partis le 11. Comme j'ay déjà marquée esperant qu'il me vienderoit joindre assez tost pour venir avec moy, j'arrivée au fort de morpas [Maurepas], le 22. ou je fis la reueu des armes publié vos ordres concernant le dit poste, en donés copie à Mr de Louuiere commis pour ces Messieurs Destachés cinq de ses hommes pour venir auec moy, comme j'éstois convenu, je lessois à Mr de Louuière 9 hommes, je me rendis à la fourche des assiliboiles Le 24. ou je trouvés dix cabanes de Crix deux chefs de guerre, qui m'atendoit avec bien des viandes ayant été averty que je venois, il me

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in my expedition for the discovery of the Mandan,[1] who formerly were called the Ouachipouennes according to the Monsoni Indians, and Courtchouattes[2] according to the Cree; Mandan is the proper name of the tribe.

Seeing that the 10th of the month had come, and that he [M. de Lamarque] had not arrived, everything being in good order in the fort and everything ready for my departure, I left on the 11th as I have already mentioned, hoping that he would overtake me soon enough to come with me.

I reached fort Maurepas on the 22nd, where I held a military inspection, published your orders concerning the said fort, and gave a copy of them to M. de Louvière,[3] agent for those gentlemen. I then detached five of his men to come with me, as I had arranged, and left nine with M. de Louvière.

I proceeded to the fork of the Assiniboine and, reaching there on the 24th, I found ten cabins of Cree, including two war chiefs, awaiting me with a large quantity of meat, they

[1] Spelt Mantannes in the French text.
[2] Spelt Koüathéattes in earlier documents.
[3] Louis D'Amours de Louvière—of the same family as Louis Mathieu d'Amours de Clignancourt (1698–1755).

priere de leur accorder un séjour pour avoir le plaisir de nous voir et nous donner a mangér, je leurs acordé estant bien aise de leur parlér, je fis venir les deux chefs a ma tante, je sauois qu'il aloit tout les ans aux Englois, que l'on m'auoit raporté qu'il y en auoit un qui auoit receu vn collier des Englois auec un present pour jouer un mauvais tour aux françois, je dis a celuy que l'on m'auoit accusée tout ce qui m'auoit esté dit de luy, j'ay eu l'honneur de vous en escrire l'année derniere de michilimakina, des bruits qui couroit a ce sujet, il me respondit mon père, je say que j'ay beaucoup denuieux qui parle contre moy, je n'ai point esté aux Englois il y a plus de six ans, jay envoyés à la vérité ces dernières année que les françois nous a abandonnés il nous faloit avoir nos besoins, demande a ceux qui ont esté pour moy que voîla icy sil ont entendue parlér de quelque chose d'aprochant,

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having been notified of my coming. They begged me to stay with them for a while, so that they might have the pleasure of seeing and entertaining us. I agreed to do so, being glad of a chance of talking to them.

I got the two chiefs to come to my tent. I knew that they went every year to the English post,[1] and that one of them, according to a report made to me, had received a collar from the English together with a present as an inducement to do some bad turn to the French. I told the one who had been accused all that had been said to me about him. I had the honour to write you last year from Michilimackinac an account of the rumours that were current on this subject.

He replied: 'My Father, I know that there are a lot of envious people who talk against me. I have not been to the English for the last six years, but in recent years when the French abandoned us I did send there: we had to have our needs supplied. Ask those who went there for me, and who are here now, if they ever heard anything like that spoken of.

[1] York Factory.

je te peus assurer que l'Englois est tranquile et ne nous parle point du françois, Ce sont des menteurs qui ont fait courir ces bruits là, tu en conoitera la vérité par la suite tant que le françois tiendra icy nos terres, nous te promettons de ne point alér ailleurs. Je leurs fis un petit présent pour les encouragér à tenir leurs paroles, je leurs fils le recit de tout ce que jauois dit a tous les autres tant de uos ordres que des nouvelles, nôtre vieux leurs fit ensuite vn grand recit de son voyage ce qui leur fit bien plaisir, le Chef que jauois acusée me dit mon père nous te remercions de ce que tu as bien parlé la bas a notre pere pour nous, nous conoissons aujourd'huy qu'il à pitié de nous en nous envoyant des françois sur nos terres pour nous aporter nos besoins, nous nous tiendrons tranquiles comme il le souhaite, les Sioux en fasse de même, nous auons toujours le cœur malade de ton fils, qui est venu le premier batir un fort sur nos terres, nous

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I assure you that the Englishman is quiet and does not talk of the Frenchman. They are liars who have set those stories afloat. You will know the truth of the matter later. As long as the Frenchman remains in our lands we promise you not to go elsewhere.'

I made them a little present to encourage them to keep their promises, and went over what I had said to the others both in regard to your orders and to general news. Our old man then gave them a great account of his journey which pleased them exceedingly.

The chief whom I had accused said to me : ' My Father, we thank you for having spoken well in our behalf down there to our Father. We know to-day that he has pity on us in sending Frenchmen into our country to bring us the things we need. We will keep quiet as he desires, and let the Sioux do the same. Our heart is still sore on account of your son, who was the first to come and build a fort on our

laymions beaucoup, jay deja esté vne fois en guerre pour le venger, je nay desfait que dix cabanes qui n'est pas suffisant pour nous contenter mais aujourduy nostre pere nous ordonne [de] nous tenir tranquile, nous le ferons, il me demanda ensuite ou je prétendois alé, que la rivière des assiliboilles estoit fort basse, nous courions grand risque de mettre nos canots or de service [que] nous alions ché des gens qui ne sauoit point tuer le castor, ne [se] couuroit que de peaux de beuf ce qui ne nous faloit point, Cestoit gens sans esprit qui nauoit jamais ueü de françois, et ne le pouroit connoitre, je luy respondis que je voulois alér dans l'otonne chez cette nations de blancs, dont l'on mauoit tant parlée que je monterois la rivière plus que je pourrois pour me mettre a portée de faire mon voyage selon uos ordres et que je uoulois

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land; we loved him deeply. I have already been once at war to avenge him. I only destroyed ten cabins, which is not enough to content us; but now our Father orders us to keep quiet and we shall do so.'

He asked me then where I was thinking of going, that the river of the Assiniboin [1] was very low and that we ran a great risk of ruining our canoes; moreover that we were going among people who did not know how to kill beaver, and whose only clothing was buffalo skin, a thing we did not require. They were people without intelligence, who had never seen the French and would not be able to make anything of them.

I replied that I wanted to go in the autumn and visit that tribe of whites that I had heard so much about; that I would go up the river as far as I could in order to put it in my power to pursue my journey according to your orders,

[1] Assiniboine. For variants of the name, see Coues' note, *New Light on the Early History of the Greater North-west*, i. 45. It was variously known at different periods as Stone Indian river, Red river, Rivière Saint Charles. The present name has been translated 'River of the Stony Sioux.' The river rises in Saskatchewan, and after a course of 450 miles joins the Red river at Winnipeg.

augmenter le nombre de uos enfants, aprendre a chasser aux assiliboiles et leurs donner de l'esprit, que l'année prochaine j'yrois d'un autre bord, tu risque beaucoup mon pere que les canots ne sorte a laige, il y a beaucoup d'assiliboilles cest vray il ne save point la chasse du castor, je souhaite que tu leurs donne de l'esprit, je partis le 26. monuieux me demanda arestér quelque jours auec les Crix qui Luy demandoit avec grande instance qu'il me rejoindroit en peu,— Comme il auoit sa voiture j'y consenty volontier et luy recommandés de bien encouragée ces gens la a bien chasser, porter des uiures aux fort françois et a tenir la parole qu'il mauoit donnée, de ne point alér aux Englois, il me dit qu'il leurs parleroit de son mieux, qu'il esperoit que je serois content, je trouvée les eaux fort basses l'estée s'est passer sans pluye, la rivière uient de l'ouest, serpente, beaucoup large et grand

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and that I wanted to increase the number of your children, teach the Assiniboin to hunt, and put some intelligence into them ; and that next year I would take another direction.

'You are running a great risk, my Father,' he said, 'of your canoes leaving there empty. It is true the Assiniboin are a numerous people, but they do not know how to hunt beaver ; I hope you will be able to sharpen their wits.'

I left on the 26th. My old man asked to be allowed to remain a few days with the Cree who were urgently asking him to do so, saying that he would overtake me in a short time. As he had his own canoe I readily consented, and told him to encourage those people to be active in hunting, to carry provisions to the French fort, and to keep the promise he had given me not to go to the English. He assured me he would speak to them to the best of his ability and hoped I would be satisfied.

I found the water very low, as there had been no rain all the summer. The river comes from the west, winds a great

courant beacoup de batures elle est bordée d'un beau bois sur cès bords et prairies a perte de veue dans les profondeurs, ou il y a beaucoup de beuf et serf, je pris le partis d'allér par terre, a suiure les prairie auec le monde inutile dans les canots, Le chemin est bien plus cour par les prairies, l'on Coupe plusieurs pointes de la riuière à la fois, l'on peut tenir un chemin droit, le gibier est le long de la rivière en grande abondance, je ne marché pas longtemps sans rencontrér des assiliboilles qui auoit été auerty que je montois dans leurs rivière venoit au deuant de moy, je poursuivy toujours mon chemin remettant a leurs parler sur leurs terres, la Compagnie augmentoit tous les jours, je marchois six jours en employant bien le temps ; Le 2 d'octobre au soir les sauvages m'auertire que je ne pouuois monter plus loin la rivïère trop basse que mes canots ne pouuoit passér le bois que pour la portée de

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deal, is wide, has a strong current and many shallows. There are fine trees along the banks, and behind these a boundless stretch of prairie in which are multitudes of buffalo and deer.

I determined to go by land across the prairie, and let the men I did not require follow in the canoes. The road is much shorter by the prairie, as you cut off several bends of the river and keep a straight road. Game is to be found along the river in great abundance. I did not walk far before meeting some Assiniboin who, having been notified that I was coming up the river, came to meet me. I pursued my way, however, deferring to speak to them till I should be on their land. The band increased in numbers day by day. I marched steadily for six days.

On the evening of October 2 the savages notified me that I could not go any higher up the river on account of the lowness of the water, that my canoes could not pass the wood ; and that if it was a question of being well situated for reaching everybody, there was no better place than the

tout le monde estant au portage qui va au Lac des prairies car c'est le chemin des assiliboilles pour allér aux Englois, tu arestera tout le monde estant icy, tu veux alér ché les mantannes te voila à la portée du chemin, je consulté sur ce que nous devions faire, nous content environ a soixante Lieues de la fourche par eau et par terre trente cinq a quarante, a prendre les prairies, tous se trouvere uoyant que nous ne pouuions passer outre et que nous courions grand risque de mettre nos Canots hors détat de pouvoir sortir estant dans vn endroit sans ressourse dans l'endroit pour les acommoder, n'ayant ny gomme ny rasinnes, qu'il estoit plus a propos de rester dans un endroit ou il y avoit beau a bastir, et qui estoit le chemin pour aler aux Englois, que nous avions lieu d'esperér bien du monde, et tous gens qui certainement ne

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portage which leads to the Lake of the Prairies,[1] for that is the road by which the Assiniboin go to the English, and being there [they said] you will stop every one on the way; and, if you wish to go to the Mandan, you are close to the road.

I held a consultation as to what we should do, our reckoning being that we were sixty leagues from the fork by water and thirty-five or forty by land across the prairies. The general opinion was, seeing that we could not go any further, and that we ran great risk of so injuring our canoes that we should not be able to get them out, the place in which we were being one in which neither gum nor resin was to be had for mending them, that the best thing to do was to stay there, as there were good facilities for building, as it was the road to the English posts, and as we had reason to expect a great many people to pass that way, and all of them people who certainly do not go to fort Maurepas.

[1] Lake Manitoba and Lake Winnipegosis. The portage was used throughout the period of the fur trade, English as well as French, as a carrying-place from the Assiniboine to Lake Manitoba. It was known as Meadow portage, Prairie portage, and Plain portage, but the old French name survives to the present day as Portage la Prairie.

vont point au fort de morpas je me desterminée le 3 au matin à choisir un endroit avantageux pour y batir un fort, que je fis commencer sur le champ, jesperois toujours que Mr de lamarque me viendroit joindre, si jeusse monté plus haut il n'auroit péu me venir trouver, je parlés aux assiliboilles pendant que lon batissait a force, je les assemblé tout près de ma tante, leurs fis un present de uostre part, en poudre, balles, tabac, aches, couteaux tranches, aleines, le tout bien estimé parmi eux qui sont en grande nécessité de tout, Il me receure en grande cérémonie bien de pleurs pour témoignage de leurs joye pour leurs peine, je les receus au nombre de uos enfants, leurs fesant ensuite un ample instruction de vos ordres repetant a plusieurs fois enfin quil le pusse concevoir, cela parût leur faire un grand plaisir. il me firent de grand remerciment, en promettant des merveilles, je leurs

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On the morning of the 3rd I determined to choose a good spot for building a fort, which I caused to be commenced at once.[1] I was still hoping that M. de Lamarque would come and join me. Had I gone further up the river he could not have found me.

While the men were building as hard as they could I spoke to the Assiniboin, assembling them all near my tent. I made them a present from you of powder, ball, tobacco, axes, knives, chisels, awls, these all being things which they value highly, owing to their lack of everything. They received me with much ceremony, shedding many tears in testimony of their joy. For their trouble I received them into the number of your children, fully instructing them afterwards as to your orders, which I repeated several times so that they might fully grasp them. They seemed greatly pleased, thanked me earnestly, and promised to do wonders.

[1] Fort la Reine, as it was afterward called by La Vérendrye, in honour of the French Queen, wife of Louis XV. It stood on the north bank of the river on or near the site of the present town of Portage la Prairie. Both the North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company had trading establishments at the portage, dating from about 1794.

recommendés de faire savoir aux assiliboilles de la Rivière rouge quil y auoit des françois chés eux, que les françois ne les abandonneroit point tant qu'il auroit de lesprit il devoit conoitre la bonté que uous auiés pour eux et leur enuoyant leurs besoins de si loing, que leurs parent, le vieux que j'auois menés auec moy leurs pouuoit dire ce qui en estoit ariuée a nous du jour, il nespargnoit rien a la verité pour les bien instruire et leurs aprendre ce qui en est d'avoir a faire aux françois, tout finit par des grands pleurs et remerciments, quelques jours apres je m'assuré d'un guide que je payé auec dautres pour macompagner a ma descouuerte et me porter de lequipage, le neuf au soir Mr de Lamarque auec le Sr Nolant son frere, huit hommes en deux canots ariuerent à nous, ce qui me fit beaucoup de plaisir, j'en temoignée ma

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I asked them to let the Assiniboin of the Red river know that they had Frenchmen among them, and that the French would never abandon them as long as they acted sensibly; they ought to recognize, I said, our kindness towards them in sending them useful things from so great a distance; their relative, the old man I had brought with me, could tell them right off all that had happened to us.

The old man then spoke and certainly he left nothing unsaid that could instruct them, or help them to understand what it is to have to do with Frenchmen. The whole was brought to a conclusion with copious tears and thanksgivings.

A few days later I secured a guide, whom I paid with the rest to accompany me on my journey of discovery and help in carrying the baggage.

On the 9th, in the evening, M. de Lamarque with the Sieur Nolan,[1] his brother, and eight men in two canoes joined us, which caused me great pleasure. I testified my

[1] Nicolas Augustin Nolan, born 1705, son of Jean-Baptiste Nolan, the Montreal merchant. For his brother Lamarque, see footnote, p. 261.

reconnoissance à M. de lamarque de la peine qu'il auoit bien voulu prendre de nous amener du renfort, je m'informée de luy s'il auoit laissé bien du monde aux fort St. Charles lac des bois, et ce qu'il auoit laissé au [fort] morpas, il me repondit qu'il auoit laissé huit hommes aux premiers auec deux tresteurs, ayant amené tout ce qu'il y auoit [de] canots nesperant pas pour cela les pouvoir chercher [charger ?] nayant pû aporter grand marchandises qu'il m'auoit promis de me venir joindre il nauoit pas voulu me manquer de parole, que j'auois besoin de monde pour ma descouverte qu'il m'en amennoit et cela sans luy faire de tord n'ayant pas besoin de son monde pendant le cour de lyuér. Je le remercié en luy disant que sil ne gagnait [joignait] dans notre Des Cou[verte] il auroit toujours pour épargné luy et tout son monde des frays jusquaux retour, Il me dit qu'il vouloit entrer dans la depence je luy repondis, que cela ne seroit pas, Il me sufisait qu'il me fournit du monde et luymesme, sans

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gratitude to M. de Lamarque for the pains he had taken to bring us reinforcements, and enquired of him whether he had left many people at fort St. Charles on the Lake of the Woods, and also how many he had left at fort Maurepas.

He answered that he had left eight men at the first place, with two traders, having brought away all the canoes there were; not that he hoped to be able to load them all, not having been able to bring any large amount of merchandise. As he had promised to join me he wanted to keep his word. He knew I needed men for my exploration, and he brought some accordingly, without disadvantage to himself as he did not require his men in the winter.

I thanked him and observed that if he did not make any profit out of our exploration he would at least save the expenses of himself and his men till their return. He said that he wanted to share expenses. I said no, that could not be; it was enough for him to furnish his men and himself

qu'il fuse de besoin d'entrér dans la Despence, que j'auois déjà mis a part, je luy doné une place a sa demande dans mon fort pour y batir une maison a logér tout [son] monde aux retour de notre voyage le 15e du mois le fort et les maisons estant acheuées, je songés a tout faire aprester pour mon despard. Mr Delamarque me dit auoir amené M. de Louuière à la fourche avec deux canots pour y batir un fort à la comodité des gens de la rivière rouge, je trouvé cela bon si les sauvages sont averty. Le 16, je fis battre la génerale, pour passer tout le monde en reueü et détachée ce qu'il me

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without being under the necessity of bearing part of the expense, for which I had made special provision. At his request I gave him a place in my fort on which to erect a house for himself and his people when we should get back from our journey.

On the 15th of the month, the fort and the houses being completed, I began to think of the preparations for our departure. M. de Lamarque told me that he had brought M. de Louvière to the fork with two canoes to build a fort there for the convenience of people on the Red river.[1] I thought that was all right provided the savages are notified of it.

On the 16th I beat the general in order to have a review

[1] This is what was afterward known as fort Rouge, and appears under that name on the 'Carte des découvertes de la Verenderye.' On the 1750 map it is marked 'Ancien Fort.' On the other hand, another map of 1750, described in the Notes on Maps, in *Statutes, Documents and Papers bearing on the Discussion respecting the Northern and Western Boundaries of Ontario*, p. 1369, is said to show fort Rouge. In the 'Map showing the forts established by de Laverendrye 1731–1739,' in Kingsford's *History of Canada*, iii. 369, fort Rouge is incorrectly shown at the mouth of Red river. When Alexander Henry was at the mouth of the Assiniboine in August 1800, he noted in his journal: 'In French times there was a trading establishment on this spot, traces of which are still to be seen where the chimneys and cellars stood.' See Dr. Coues' note, pp. 43–44, *New Light, etc.*; also George Bryce's *Five Forts of Winnipeg*, in *R.S.C. Trans.* 1885. The name survives in one of the residential districts of Winnipeg.

faloit de monde pour ma descouverte, apres la reueü des armes je fis publier uos ordres de ce qui regarde le poste destaché vingt hommes, dix a Mr. delamarque et dix des miens je les auertis de se tenir prest pour le 18, leurs fis donner une liure de poudre, vingt balles à chaque, soullier, ache, chaudiere pour leurs utilité dans le voyage, donnai a chaque homme francois et sauvage vn sac de poudre de quatre liures soixante balles, deux brasses de tabac, quelque menuité de marchandises, plus pour leurs besoins que pour autres choses, comme aleines, pierres à fusil, tirbourres, battefeux, je fis metre dans vn sac de cuire ce que je voulois portér pour le present qu'une femme de notre guide me portoit et tout ce qui m'estoit utile pour mon particulier mon domestique et mon esclave le portoit, cela distribué, je fis

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of our whole company, and select those whom I required for my expedition. After the examination of arms I caused your orders regarding the post to be published, and then detached twenty men, ten belonging to M. de Lamarque and ten of my own, whom I notified to hold themselves in readiness for the 18th.

I gave to each man one pound of powder, twenty bullets, shoes, an axe, a kettle for use on the way. To each man, French and Indian, I gave a four-pound bag of powder, sixty bullets, two fathoms of tobacco,[1] together with some small articles more for actual needs than for other purposes, such as awls, gun-flints, gun-screws and firesteels. I put into a leather bag what I wanted to take with us for the present, which a wife of our guide carried; while all that was for my own personal use my servant and my slave carried.

When all the stuff was distributed, I caused Sans-

[1] Tobacco twisted in the form of a rope was used both by the French fur-traders and by the traders of the Hudson's Bay and North West Companies. See Bain's note, Henry's *Travels and Adventures*, p. 321. Also note herein, p. 99; and Introduction, p. 39, as to use of Brazil tobacco.

receuoir Sanschagrin homme d'esprit sage et prudent qui me fait la fonction de sergent, commandant à mon absence menant mes deux enfants auec moy, luy laissant deux soldats et dix engagés pour la garde du fort, luy donné ensuite l'ordre et instruction par écrit de tout ce qu'il auoit a faire pendant mon absence, le 18 tout étant en bon ordre dans le fort, je fis partir tout notre monde avec ordre dalér camper proche et partis ensuite avec Mr. delamarque sur le midy, en encouragent les sauvages que je lessois aux fort de chasser aux beuf le castor nestant pas encore bon, pour fournir des viures aux françois que je lessois nôtre petite bande consistoit à 52 personnes vingt engagés tous bons hommes Mr de la marque son frere, mes deux enfans, mon domestique un esclave, le reste sauvages. Le troisieme jour de notre depard,

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chagrin,[1] an intelligent, discreet and prudent man who fills the position of sergeant, to be received as commandant in my absence, taking my two sons with me and leaving two soldiers and ten hired men for the protection of the fort. After that I gave him in writing orders and instructions as to everything he had to do in my absence.

On the 18th, everything being in good shape in the fort, I started all our people on the march with orders to camp somewhere near, and about noon I myself left with M. de Lamarque, after encouraging the savages whom I left at the fort to hunt buffalo, beaver being not yet in season, in order to supply the French with food. Our little band consisted of 52 persons, twenty hired men, all good men, M. de Lamarque, his brother, my two sons, my servant and a slave, the rest being savages.

[1] Alexis Sejourné *dit* Sanschagrin appears as a marriage witness at Michilimackinac in 1747, 1750, 1758, 1760, and 1762. He was sergeant of the troops at Michilimackinac, to the close of the French period, and was still there in 1765. His daughter was baptized there in 1749, by Père du Jaunay, Le Gardeur de Saint-Pierre being godfather.

un vilage de quarante cabannes assiliboilles, nous joignirent a dessein de me parlér. Le chef me demanda de vouloir bien luy acordér la journée pour avoir le plaisir de nous voir et nous donner a mangér, je lui acordée à la solicitation de notre guide, je fis un petit present au chef de poudre et luy fit tout le recit que j'avois fait a tous les autres. Il me temoigna beaucoup de reconnoissance, en promettant bien des merueilles, qu'il aloit porter des uiures aux françois et chasseroit de leur mieux, enfin d'avoir leurs besoins. Le 21 nous continuames nostre route jusqua la premiere montagne eloignée de nostre fort de vingt six lieues toujours au sud quard de sud ouest de la premiere montagne a la seconde à oüést quard nor oüést 24 lieuës, de la pointe de la seconde montagne, a alér chez les mantannes en droiture il faut tenir le sud oüést quard oüést, il sen faloit de

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On the third day after our departure an Assiniboin village of forty lodges joined us with the object of speaking to me. The chief asked me to be good enough to give him a day that he might have the pleasure of seeing and entertaining us. At the solicitation of our guide I consented. I made the chief a little present of powder and told him all that I had told the others. He expressed much gratitude, promising to do wonderful things, that they would carry provisions to the French and hunt their very best, in order to be able to get the things they required. On the 21st we continued our journey as far as the first mountain, distant from our fort twenty-six leagues, the general direction being south one point west; from the first mountain to the second is west one point north, 24 leagues; and from the point of the second mountain to go in a straight line to the Mandan you have to keep south-west one point west.[1]

[1] In a paper on 'The Explorations of Verendrye and his Sons,' in the *Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association*, vol. i. p. 49. Mr. Warren Upham says: 'The route I think to have been first due south about fifty miles, to make the ascent up the Pembina Mountain in the

beaucoup que nous ne fime de chemin droit pour deux lieues en droiture, nous en fesions de trois et quatre de nostre fort, il peut y avoir cent vingt lieues, a oüést sud oüést, que nostre guide nous a bien augmenté de plus de cinquante a soixante lieues, et nombre de sejour auxquel il nous faloit consentir malgré nous, nous fesant paser le plus beau temps de l'automne en sejour, nous auons mis quarante six jours a nous rendre, que nous aurions bien fait en saise ou vingt jours au plus, Il nous faloit prendre patience par force, tout

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We were far, however, from being able to follow a straight road, for every two leagues we made in a straight line we travelled three or four. From our fort it may be 120 leagues west-south-west, which our guide increased by fifty or sixty. He also made us stop at a great many places much against our will, thus keeping us at a standstill during the best of the autumn weather.

We spent forty-six days covering a distance which we might easily have covered in sixteen, or twenty at the most. There was nothing for it but to have patience, as nothing that

vicinity of Thornhill, and thence west and west-south-west about seventy miles to the south-east point of the base of Turtle Mountain (called "the second mountain"). Thence the distance in a straight course south-south-west to the Missouri river at Bismarck and Mandan, where the Mandan and Hidatsa villages then were, is a hundred and fifty miles. It could be traversed by two hundred miles of travel, requiring no more than two or three weeks with reasonable progress.' There can be very little doubt that, from the Assiniboine to Turtle Mountain, La Vérendrye followed a recognized Indian trail. Between there and the Missouri his course was diverted to an Assiniboin village. David Thompson, Alexander Henry, F. A. Larocque, Charles Mackenzie, and others who subsequently travelled from the Assiniboin trading posts to the Missouri villages, between 1793 and 1806, followed substantially the same route. George Bryce, referring to this period, says: 'The Mandans themselves journeyed north to the Assiniboine and carried Indian corn, which they grew, to Rupert's Land to exchange for merchandise'; and he adds, 'the Mandan trail can still be pointed out in Manitoba' (*Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company*, p. 324). See account of Thompson's journey to the Mandan in 1797, and his route from the Missouri to Stone Indian River House on the Assiniboine (*Boundaries of Ontario*, p. 174; and Thompson's *Narrative* (Champlain Society).

ce que je pouuois dire a nôtre guide pour le faire diligenter ne servoit de rien, Il nous fit faire pour comble de bonheur vingt deux lieues de chemin qui nous éloignoit de nôtre route, pour joindre un vilage de cent deux cabanes qu'il auoit esté découvrir et nous auoit amenés huit hommes, que les Chefs du vilage m'envoyoit pour me prier de les allér joindre qu'il estoit tous dans le sentiment de macompagnér chés les mantannes, me faisant dire que les Sioux frequentoit souvent par la et que j'avois besoin descorte, il fallut bien se resoudre a y alér nous y ariuames le 18e de novembre, sur l'aprés midi, il estoit venu nombre de couriés au devant de nous, nous [y] fumes receu avec grande joye l'on nous conduisit, M. de lamarque, son frere, et mes enfants dans une cabane d'un jeune Chef ou tout estoit prèst pour nous receuoir, l'on nous fit grand chaire et a tout nostre monde qui ne manquoit point de bon apety. Le 19. je fis rassembler les chefs et principaux du vilage dans la cabane ou jestois,

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I could say to the guide to make him hasten had any effect. To crown our luck he took us twenty-two leagues out of our way to visit a village of a hundred and two lodges that he had gone to discover, bringing us eight men whom the chiefs of the village were sending to beg me to go and join them, as they were all disposed to accompany me to the country of the Mandan. The Sioux, they said, often went in that direction and I needed an escort.

We had to make up our minds to go, and we reached the place on the 18th of November in the afternoon. A number of couriers had come to meet us. Our arrival was hailed with great joy, and we were conducted, M. de Lamarque, his brother and my sons with myself, into the dwelling of a young chief, where everything was ready for our reception. They gave us and all our men, who did not lack appetite, very good cheer.

On the 19th I had the chiefs and principal men of the village assembled in the lodge I was occupying, and

je leur donée un present de uostre part en poudre, balles, couteaux et tabac, en leurs disant que je les recevois au nombre de vos enfants, que s'il auoit de l'esprit que vous leurs prometiés de ne les point abandonnér que les françois estoit aujourdhuy establie sur leurs terres et leurs fourniroit tous leurs besoins qui leurs faloit chasser au Castor et bien garder leurs terres que vous ne vouliez point de guerre pour le présent voulant aplanir toutes les terres que tous nos enfants puisse vivre tranquile, dont jaugmentois le nombre tous les jours je leurs fis le récit que javois fait a tous les autres, ce fut grand remerciment par bien de pleurs et ceremonie, en passant leurs mains sur ma teste me prenant à vôtre lieu et place [pour] leur père et nos françois pour frere, en passant les mains sur la teste a tous en pleurant, cette

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made them a present from you of powder, ball, knives and tobacco, telling them that I received them into the number of your children, and that, if they acted sensibly, you promised not to abandon them. The French, I said, were now established on their lands, and would supply their needs, only they would have to hunt for beaver and look well after their lands; adding that you did not want any war at present, desiring rather to tranquillize the whole country so that all your children, whose numbers I was daily increasing, might dwell in peace. I spoke to them to the same effect as I had done to all the others.

Then came profuse thanks and many tears, also a ceremony which consisted in each man placing his hand on my head and taking me as his Father in your stead and place, and similarly our countrymen as brothers, by the same placing of hands on the heads of all of them and weeping.[1]

[1] Henry notes the same peculiar custom in his visit to the Assiniboin in 1776. 'The speech ended,' he says, 'several of the Indians began to weep, and they were soon joined by the whole party. Had I not previously been witness to a *weeping-scene* of this description, I should certainly have been apprehensive of some disastrous catastrophe; but, as it was, I listened to it with tranquillity.' He adds that the tribe were sometimes known, from this characteristic, as the *Weepers*. See his *Travels and Adventures*, p. 291.

ceremonie faite larenqueur [harangueur] me dit nous te remercions mon pere d'auoir bien voulu te donnée la peine de venir à nous, nous allons tous tacompagner aux mantannes et te ramener a ton fort, nous avons envoyés quatre hommes les auertir, qui vien[nent] darivér, raporte que les mantannes sont en grande réjouissance de [ta] venue chez eux et doive venir au devant de toy. Nous auons ren[uoyé] quatre autres jeunes gens, pour les amener aux lieux que nous leur auons marqué, nous alons nous y rendre tout doucement en chassant, enfin d'avoir des graisses en arrivant la pour manger auéc leurs grains quil mange toujours beaux, nayant pour le plus souvent ny viande, ny graisse, Je les remercie de leur bonne volonté et les encouragés à nous rendre promtement qu'il voyoit aussi bien que moy la saison fort avancée, sachant que les mantannes nestoit pas prouisionnés de graisses j'en fis achetér dans le vilage en donnée a tout nôtre monde a porter

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When this ceremony was concluded their orator said to me : 'We thank you, my Father, for having taken the trouble to come to us. We are all going to accompany you to the Mandan, and then conduct you back to your fort. We sent four men to notify them and those, who have just arrived, report that the Mandan are greatly delighted at your coming amongst them and will come to meet you. We have sent four other young men to bring them to the spot we have marked out for them. We shall go there by easy marches, hunting by the way, in order to have fat when we arrive there to eat with their grain, which they always eat plain, having for the most part neither meat nor fat.'

I thanked them for their good will and urged them to get us there quickly, as they saw as well as I that the season was far advanced. Knowing that the Mandan were not provided with fats, I had a quantity bought in the village, and gave our men as much to carry as they cared to, and

ce qu'il en voulure, et en fit porter pour nous par les sauvages, que je paye pour cela, j'auerty nos françois que jestois dans le desein de paser une partie de lyver chés les mantannes qu'il nesitasse point de se bien chargér de graisse, sinon qu'il mangeroit leurs ble et feües a leaux, le 20. tout le vilage se mit en marche pour se rendre, à 17 lieües ou il auoit marquée le rendés uous aux mantannes, tout les jours lon ne nous entretenoit, de blanc que nous alions voir françois comme nous qui se disoit desendant de nous, tout ce que lon nous disoit nous donnoit bonne esperance de faire une descouuerte qui merita atention, M. de lamarque et moy, le long du chemin nous nous fesions des projets sur tout ce que nous atendions dire, croyant ueritable, dont nous avons bien eu a disconter, je fis remarquer à M[r] de lamarque le bon ordre auec lequel les assiliboiles marche pour preuenir toutes surprises marchant toujours dans des prairies, de caute et valons

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had some carried for us by the savages, paying them for doing so. I notified our Frenchmen that I meant to pass a part of the winter with the Mandan, so that they should not hesitate to carry a pretty good weight of fat unless they wanted to eat their corn and beans with nothing but water.

On the 20th the whole village set out to go a distance of 17 leagues to the place of rendezvous with the Mandan. Every day they talked to us about the whites we were going to see, Frenchmen like ourselves, who said they were descended from us. Everything they said gave us hope of making a remarkable discovery. M. de Lamarque and myself, as we went along, made plans as to what we were to say, giving full credit to these statements which afterwards we had to discount considerably.

I called M. de Lamarque's attention to the good order in which the Assiniboin march so as to avoid surprise. From the first mountain the whole route lay in a prairie country,

depuis la première montagne, ce qui ne lesse pas d'estre de fatigue a marcher, monter et descendre fort souvent dans la journée, Il y a des plaines magnifiques de trois et quatre Lieües, La marche des vilages assiliboilles, surtout quand il sont nombreux est en trois colonnes des descouvreurs de vend sur les elles à une bonne arrière garde, les vieillards et estropiés marche dans celle du milieux qui est le centre. Je fesois tenir tout les françois ensemble autant que faire se pouuoit. Si les descouvreurs apercoive sur la route des bandes de beufs comme il arrive souvent, le crix se fait qui est bientost renduë à larriere garde, tout ce qu'il y a d'hommes dans les colonnes des plus alerte, joigne la vendgarde, pour cerner les bestes, dont ils en tue nombre, chacun prend de la viande ce qu'il en veut. Puisque cela areste la marche, lavant garde marque le campement il n'y a point a passer outre, les femmes et les chiens porte tout Lequipages, les

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but with a succession of hills and valleys, which it is fatiguing to climb up and down several times a day. There are some magnificent plains of three or four leagues in extent. The marching order of the Assiniboin villagers, especially when they are numerous, is in three columns, the scouts in front, the wings [extending back] to a good rearguard; the old and disabled march in the main body which is in the middle. I had all the Frenchmen kept together as much as possible. If the scouts perceive any herds of buffalo on the way, as often happens, a cry is raised which is quickly heard by the rearguard, and all the most active men in the columns join the vanguard so as to surround the beasts, numbers of which they kill, whereupon each man takes all the meat he wants. As that arrests the march, the vanguard marks out the camping ground and no one must go any farther. The women and the dogs carry all the baggage. The men carry

hommes ne sont chargés que de leurs armes, ils font porter a leurs chiens souvent jusques aux bois pour faire du feux estant obligée souvent de camper en plaine prairie, les iles de bois sont de loing a loing, le 28. nous ariuames au matin a Lendroit marqué du rendé vous pour les mantannes, qui arriuere sur le soir, vn chef avec trente hommes et les quatre assiliboilles, le Chef apres auoir consideré quelques temps de dessus une hauteur la grandeur de nostre uilage, qui ne lessoit pas que de paroistre, je fis conduire dans la cabane ou jestois ou lon auoit preparé une place pour le receuoir dans un Costé de la Cabanne, il se vint placer près de moy quelqu'un de ses gens ensuite de luy, me presenta un present de blé d'inde en espie et de leur tabac en endoüille qui nest pas bon ne sachant pas l'acomoder comme nous, il est bien comme le nostre, auec cette différence qui ne le plante point

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only their arms. They often make their dogs carry firewood even, as they frequently have to camp in mid-prairie, the clumps of trees only occurring at distant intervals.[1]

On the morning of the 28th we arrived at the place indicated as a rendezvous for the Mandan, who arrived in the evening, one chief with thirty men and four Assiniboin. After the chief had studied for some time from a height the extent of our village, which certainly looked pretty large, I had him conducted into the lodge in which I was, where a place at one side had been prepared for him. He came and sat beside me and some of his people sat next. He then presented me with some Indian corn in the ear and with a roll of their tobacco, which is not good as they do not know how to prepare it as we do. It is a good deal like ours, with this difference, that they do not plant it, and that they cut it

[1] On these and other practices and customs of the Assiniboin, compare Henry's *Travels and Adventures*; Cocking's *Journal* (*R.S.C.* 1908); Coues' *New Light, etc.*; John McDonnell's 'Narrative,' in Masson's *Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*; Harmon's *Journal*.

et le coupe verd, mettant tout a profit, coton et les feuilles ensemble, je luy en donné du mien, qu'il trouua bien bon, javouë que je fus surpris, mattendant a voir des gens differents des autres sauuages, surtout le recit que l'on nous en auoit fait il ny a point de difference d'auec les assiliboilles nue couuerd seulement d'une robe de beuf, porté négligemment sans brayet, je conus des lors que nous auions bien a desconter

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green, using the stalks and leaves together. I gave him some of mine which he found very good.[1]

I confess I was greatly surprised, as I expected to see people quite different from the other savages according to the stories that had been told us. They do not differ from the Assiniboin, being naked except for a garment of buffalo skin carelessly worn without any breechcloth.[2] I knew then that there was a large discount to be taken off all

[1] When Alexander Henry visited the Mandan in 1806 he also was presented with some of the native tobacco. As it was July, and the herb was not yet arrived at maturity, the Indians used only the blossoms. 'These,' he says in his *Travels*, 'are collected as required, dried before the fire on a fragment of an earthen pot, and smoked by all the natives. But I find the flowers a very poor substitute for our own tobacco—a nauseous, insipid weed. The ripe leaf is somewhat better, but even that is mere trash, possessed of neither strength nor virtue.' This was the *Nicotiana quadrivalvis*. Maximilian of Wied, in his *Travels*, says the Mandan and other Missouri Indians smoked 'the leaves of the tobacco plant, which is cultivated by them; the bark of the red willow (*Cornus sericea*), which they obtain from the traders, is sometimes mixed with the tobacco, or the latter with the leaves of the bearberry (*Arbutus Uva-ursi*). The tobacco of the white, unmixed, is too strong for the Indians, because they draw the smoke into their lungs; hence they do not willingly smoke cigars . . . The tobacco cultivated by the Mandans, Manitaries and Arikkaras, attains a great height, and is suffered to grow up from the seeds, without having any care whatever bestowed upon it.' See also Masson, i. 339; Will and Spinden, *The Mandans*, p. 119; and article 'Tobacco' in Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*.

[2] 'The chief article of their dress,' says Maximilian, who visited the tribe in 1833, 'is the ample buffalo robe, called mahita, or mih-sha, which is often very elaborate and valuable. In dry weather these buffalo robes are worn with the hair inwards, and in rainy weather with the hairy side outwards.' He adds that even in the midst of winter they wear nothing on the upper part of the body under their buffalo robe.

de tout ce qui nous en auoit esté dit le chef me parla en assiliboile me témoignant la joye que je donnois a toutes leurs nations, de mon arriuee ches eux qu'il me prioit de les accepter du nombre de uos enfants, quil vouloit par la suite ne faire quun auec nous, que je pouuois disposer de tout ce quīl auoit qu'il me prioit de rester a son fort qui estoit le plus près plus petit que tous les autres, mais bien muny de viures, quil estoit six fort a la même nations, quil estoit le seul un peu eloigné de la riuière me dit auoir receu deux colliers de moy, que lon me feroit voir en ariuant qu'on auoit toujours esperés me voir, je le remerciés de toutes ses honnestetés et offres, luy disant que je venois de bien loing pour faire amitié auec eux, que je leurs parlerois si tost que je serois arriué à leurs fort, il nous joua sur le champ une marote,

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that had been told me. The chief spoke to me in Assiniboin testifying the joy which my arrival caused to all their people, and requesting me to receive them into the number of your children; he wished in future to make only one with us, and I might dispose of all he had; he begged me to stay at his fort, which was the nearest, a smaller one than the others but well stocked with provisions. There were six forts,[1] he said, belonging to the same tribe; his was the only one that was a little far from the river; when I arrived he would show me two collars that he had received from me; he had always hoped to see me.

I thanked him for all his politeness and offers, saying that I came from a great distance to form a friendship with them, and that I would talk to them as soon as I had arrived at their fort. At once he played us a sharp trick. As I

[1] Lewis and Clark (1804) mention the ruins of nine Mandan villages on the Missouri. The tribe was then living some eighty miles farther up the river. Of the nine villages, they say that seven were on the west and two on the east side of the Missouri. Between 1738 and 1804 the Mandan had wasted away before the small-pox and the Sioux, and the American travellers found them in two villages, one on either side of the river.

ayant consideré notre uilage en arivant comme jay marqué, jugent quil y auoit bien du monde si tout cela ariuoit a son fort, quil faloit faire une grande consommation de grains, leurs maniere estant de nourir gratieusement tous ceux qui vont chés eux, ne vende le grain que pour emportér il fit de grand remerciments aux assiliboilles de leurs avoir amenés le francois chez eux, quil ne pouvoit arriver plus a propos, que les sioux ne deuoit pas tarder a arriuér chés eux ayant été avertis, me priant comme les assiliboilles vouloir bien leurs donnér secours esperant beaucoup de nostre valeur et courage, je donné, dans le panneaux comme les assiliboilles, avec cette difference, que l'assiliboille demeura interdit, et moy je men rejouis croyant trouvér occasion de me venger de cette maudite nation, je luy promis que s'il venoit pendant que nous serions ches eux, tout secours de moy et tous nos françois, il me remercia, on le vint chercher pour le mener

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have already observed, he had, on his arrival, carefully noted the size of our encampment, and he saw that, if all those people arrived at his fort, there would be a vast consumption of grain, the custom being to feed without charge those who go to visit them, and only to sell such grain as is carried away. So he now gave great thanks to the Assiniboin for having brought the French to see them : they could not, he said, have arrived more apropos, because the Sioux would soon be there having been notified of our movements ; and he begged me as well as the Assiniboin to be so good as to assist them, as they hoped much from our valour and courage.

I was imposed upon as were the Assiniboin, but with this difference, that they were dismayed while I was rejoiced, hoping for a chance to avenge myself on that accursed nation. I promised the chief that, if the Sioux came while we were with him, I and all our Frenchmen would give him all the help in our power. He thanked me, and then he was

en festin, et le quesquioné au sujet des Sioux l'assiliboille nombreux, hommes fort et robustes, ne sont pas braves il craignent beaucoup les Sioux quil pense plus brave, les mantannes connoissent leurs faible et en profite dans Locasion, Le Conseil se teint pour Deliberer sur ce qu'il deuoit faire, la plus forte voix estoit qu'il ne fa[loit] passer outre de m'avertir du risque que jalois courir si je uoulois poursuiver un vieillard se leua fortement, ne pensées pas que nôtre pere est lache, je le connois mieux que uous autres, jay toujours esté avec Luy depuis quil est parti de son fort, ne croyés pas que les Sioux soit capable de les pouvanter, ny tout son monde que pencera-t-il de nous, il a alongé son

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summoned to the feast, when I questioned him regarding the Sioux. The Assiniboin, I learnt, though a numerous race, strong and robust, are not brave, and are greatly afraid of the Sioux,[1] whom they consider braver than themselves. The Mandan know their weakness and on occasion profit by it.

A council was held to deliberate as to what they should do. The majority were of opinion that they should not proceed any farther, and that I ought to be warned of the risk I ran if I determined to go on. An old man then rose quickly to his feet: 'Don't think,' said he, 'that our father is a coward; I know him better than you do; I have been with him ever since he left his fort, and don't you imagine that the Sioux are able to frighten him or any of his men. What will he think of us? He has lengthened his journey

[1] As the Assiniboin were of Siouan stock, and lived much the same nomadic life on the western plains as their cousins, it is hard to account for the apparent dread they felt of the Sioux. The Sioux were the Iroquois of the west, the Ishmaelites of the prairie. All the early narratives describe the Assiniboin as continually at war with them. The fur-traders shared the native dread of the Sioux. Larocque, in his 1805 *Journal* (*Canadian Archives Pub.* No. 3), in crossing the Coteau du Missouri, says that they saw quantities of buffalo, but did not dare fire at them because of the Sioux. When Alexander Henry ascended Red river in 1800 he had great difficulty in preventing his men turning back when they reached the borders of the Sioux country.

chemin pour nous venir joindre en acordant a notre demande pour lacompagner chés les mantannes et le reconduire a son fort, il seroit rendue aujourdhuy sil ne nous auoit point écouté et vous penceriez labandonnér en le lessant alér seul ce qui ne sera pas si vous apreendés les Sioux laissons nôtre vilage icy, jusque aux retour, tout ce qu'il ẏ a d'hommes capables de marcher suive nostre pere, tout acordere au sentiment du vieillard il fut decidé quil ne resteroit que peu de monde pour garder les femmes, tout le reste macompagneroit, lon mauertis du résultat du Conseil, la harangue se fit partout le vilage pour en avertir un chacun a se tenir prest a marcher le surlendemain 30. du mois donnant un sejour aux mantannes qui en sure bien profiter, pour trafiquer les grains, tabac, poilles et plumes peintes quil save que les assiliboilles estime beaucoup qui leurs auoit aportés et tiré en eschange fusille, ache, chodiere, poudre, balles, couteaux,

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in order to join us, in accordance with our request, we undertaking to accompany him to the Mandan and then conduct him back to his fort. He would be there [with the Mandan] to-day if he had not listened to us, and you would think of abandoning him and letting him go alone. That shall never be. If you are afraid of the Sioux let us leave our village here till we return, and let the men who are fit to march follow our Father.'

All fell in with the sentiment of the old man, and it was decided that only a few men should remain to protect the women, and that all the rest should accompany me. I was notified of the result of the council, and proclamation was made through the village that every one was to be in readiness to march the day after next, the 30th of the month, a stay to be made with the Mandan, who knew well how to profit by it in selling their grains, tobacco, skins and coloured plumes which they know the Assiniboin prize highly. The latter brought them in exchange guns, axes, kettles, powder, bullets,

aleines, ils sont bien plus rusés que les assiliboilles dans leurs commerce et en tous les autres estant toujours leurs dupe nous partimes le 30 au matin environ six cents hommes, plusieurs femmes sans enfans des meilleures jambes, la troisième journée au soir de nostre marche, environ sept lieuës du premier fort des Mantannes, l'on mauertit qu'un assiliboille auoit pris le sac de mon esclave dans le chemin sous pretexte de soulagment, estoit retourné au village, ma boëte ou estoit mes papiers et bien de choses à mon utilité dedans le sac, je loüés sur le champ deux jeunes gens pour courir après que je payés leurs faisant promettre de me raportér le sac chez les Mantannes, ou je les atenderois, ils partire dans la nuit, rejoignirent le fripon qui estoit deja décampée du village, lui fire rendre tout et revinre à leurs vilage garder le tout, espérant me rendre à mon retour,

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knives, awls. The Mandan are much more crafty than the Assiniboin in their commerce and in everything, and always dupe them.[1]

We left on the morning of the 30th, about 600 men and several women without children, some of the best walkers. On the evening of the third day of our march, when we were about seven leagues from the first fort of the Mandan, I was told that an Assiniboin had taken the bag my slave was carrying on the road, under pretext of relieving him, and had returned to the village, my box, in which were my papers and many things for my own use, being in the bag. Instantly I hired two young men to run after him and paid them, making them promise to bring the bag to me at the Mandan settlement where I would await them. They left in the night and caught up with the rascal, who had already decamped from the village, made him hand everything back, and then went back to their village to keep the recovered

[1] Early British traders who visited the Mandan from their posts on the Assiniboine bear witness to their shrewdness in driving a bargain.

n'ozant point me venir trouver craîgnant les Sioux, je me vis privée de bien des choses qui mestoit journellement fort utiles—Laranqueur auerty qu'il faloit partir devant quatre heures du matin enfin dariver de bon heure au fort, je trouuée a une lieuë et demy sur le midy près d'une petite riviere bien du monde qui estoit uenue au devant de nous, auoit allumée du feux a nous atendant et auoit apportés du petit blé cuit et farine groulée en pate avéc de la sitroüille pour nous donner à manger a tous, deux chef, mauoit preparé une place près du feu, me presentere dabord à ma[nger] et a fumer, Mr de lamarque arriva peu de temps après moy—je

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property till my return, as they were afraid to come where I was on account of the Sioux; and so I found myself deprived of many things that I was much in need of every day.

The orator gave notice that we should have to leave before four the next morning in order to arrive in good time at the fort. At a distance of a league and a half I found towards noon, near to a small river, a number of people who had come to meet us. They had lighted a fire while waiting, and had brought along some cooked grain and flour worked into a paste with pumpkin,[1] so as to give us all something to eat. Two chiefs had prepared me a place near the fire, but first they gave me some food and a pipe. M. de Lamarque arrived shortly after me. I begged him to sit

[1] Maximilian says the Mandan cultivated maize, gourds, and sunflowers, and used several wild plants of the prairie, such as the feverolles (*Faba minor equina*), a fruit resembling the bean, and various roots. They boiled or roasted the maize, pounded it, mixed it with fat, and made it into small cakes which they baked. They also made cakes of sunflower seeds. Catlin says they stored for winter use 'great quantities of dried squashes and dried *pommes blanches*, a kind of turnip which grows in great abundance in these regions. These are dried in great quantities and pounded into a sort of meal, and cooked with dried meat and corn.' Lewis and Clark speak of being entertained with a favourite Mandan dish, 'a mixture of pumpkins, beans, corn, and chokecherries with the stones, all boiled together in a kettle, and forming a composition by no means unpalatable.'

priai de se mestre à costé et de manger en se reposant, nous restames bien deux heures à nous reposér—l'on m'averty qu'il estoit temps de nous rendre, je fis prendre le pavillon peint aux armes de france à un de mes enfans pour marchér à la teste, ordre aux françois de suivre par ordre, le Sr nolant soulagent mon fils portant le pavillon chaquun leurs tour, les mantannes ne voulurent pas me laissér marchér, sofrire a me portér, il me fallut bien consentir en estant priés par les assilliboiles me disent que je leurs ferois un grand desplaisir si je les refusois.

A quatre arpent du fort, sur une petite hauteur, une partie des anciens du fort accompagné dun grand nombre de jeunes gens matendoit pour me presenter le calumet et me faire voir les deux collier que je leur auoit envoyé il y a quatre ou cinq ans, l'on me donna un siege et a mr de

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down beside me and eat while resting. We continued resting for two full hours. Then I was notified that it was time to move on. I made one of my sons take the flag showing in colours the arms of France and march at the head, while the French were directed to follow in proper marching order. The Sieur Nolan relieved my son by taking turns with him in carrying the flag. The Mandan would not let me walk, offering to carry me,[1] and I had to consent, the Assiniboin begging me to do so and saying that I should displease them [the Mandan] greatly if I refused.

At four arpents from the fort, on a little elevation, a party of the older men of the fort, accompanied by a great number of young men, were waiting to present me with the pipe and to show me the two collars I had sent them four or five years before. They gave seats to me and to M. de

[1] Charles Mackenzie, in his *Missouri Indians* (Masson, i. 381), says: 'Some nations have the custom of carrying the ambassador of a neighbouring nation into their camp on their shoulders.'

lamarque, je receu leurs compliments qui ne consistoit que a la joye qu'il resentoit de nostre arrivée, jordonné a mon fils le chevalier de faire border la aix a tous nos francois, le pauillon devant a quatre pas de distance, tous les assiliboilles qui auoit des fusils se mirent en Rang comme nos françois après les compliments faits, je fis saluer le fort de trois decharges, il estoit venue bien du monde audeuant de nous, Ce nestoit rien a comparaison de ce qu'il en paroissoit sur les rempard et le long des fossées—je marché en bon ordre aux fort ou jentré le 3 decembre a 4 heures apres-midy, escorté de tous les françois et assiliboilles, lon nous conduisit dans la cabane du premier chef, grande a la verité, mais pas assés pour tenir tout le monde qui y vouloit entré, la foule estoit si grande qu'il se portoit les uns sur les autres, assiliboilles et mantannes Il ny auoit que la place ou nous estions m^r^ de la marque, son frere et mes enfans, qu'il y auoit de libre, je demandés que lon fit sortir le grand monde pour

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Lamarque. I received their compliments, the substance of which was that they were delighted at our arrival. I ordered my son the Chevalier to draw the French up in line with the standard four paces in front. All the Assiniboin who had guns fell into line also like our Frenchmen, and after the compliments were over I ordered a salute to the fort of three volleys. A great many people had come to meet us, but that was nothing in comparison with what we saw on the rampart and along the ditches. I marched in good order to the fort, which I entered on the 3rd December at four in the afternoon, escorted by all the French and the Assiniboin.

I was led into the lodge of the principal chief, a large one truly, but not large enough to hold all the people who wanted to enter it. The crowd was so great that Assiniboin and Mandan were all treading on one another's heels. The only free space was where we were, myself, M. de Lamarque, his brother, and my sons. I asked that most of them might be

debarasser nos francois et leurs faire mettre leur equipage dans un endroit de sureté, leurs disant quil auoit tout le temps de nous voir, lon fit sortir tout le monde, je my pris trop tard, lon nous auoit volé le sac de marchandises ou estoit tous mes presents par la grande faute d'un de nos engagés a qui je lavois donné a soing auant que d'arriver aux fort, il estoit dechargé en entrant dans la cabanne sans prendre garde au sac qu'il auoit mis contre luy dans la grande foule— je me trouvée un peu desrangé, ma boëte perdue, mon sac de present, qui nous estoit fort necessaire pour lendroit, il y auoit pour plus de trois cents liures dedans les assiliboilles parure fort peinés et fire de grandes recherches sur lheure bien inutilement. Leurs fort est remply de caves ou ils

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made to retire so as to give more room to our Frenchmen and enable them to put their baggage in a place of safety. I said to them that they would have plenty of time to see me. So the place was cleared, but I had not had it done soon enough; for some one had stolen my bag of merchandise in which were all my presents, and this through the serious fault of one of my hired men into whose care I had given it before arriving at the fort. He took off his load when he entered the lodge without thinking of the bag that he had put close to himself in the great crowd.

I was a little disconcerted with my box lost as well as my bag of presents, which was most necessary to us for the place we had arrived at; there were goods in it to the value of over three hundred livres. The Assiniboin appeared to be much troubled over it, and made great search immediately, but to no purpose. Their [the Mandan] fort is provided with a great many cellars,[1] fine for storing things in. The chief of

[1] Catlin, in his *North American Indians*, says the Mandan stored their corn in holes dug in the ground, some six or seven feet deep, 'the insides of which are somewhat in the form of a jug and tightly closed at the top.' These *caches* are also described by Alexander Henry, Maximilian, and other travellers. See also Will and Spinden, *The Mandans*, p. 110.

sont beaux a cacher le chef des mantannes me paroissent fort touché de ma perte, me dit pour ma consolation qu'il y avoit beaucoup de fripon parmy eux, il feroit son possible pour descouvrir quelque chose si jauois voulu me servir de l'offre des assiliboilles je l'aurois bien fait trouver en peu par la force, jaimés mieux perdre et passifier toutes choses uoulant passer une partie de lyuer ches eux pour prendre connoissance de plus loing, le 4. je fis assembler le principaux mantanne et assiliboilles dans la cabanne ou jestois, je leurs fis mon present en poudre et balles, en leur disant que je ne pouuois leurs donnér autres choses qu'il savoit tout ce que lon mauoit fait aporter pour donner en present, je leur desclarés que j'estois dans le sentiment de rester quelque temps pour prendre connoissance du païs selon nos ordres, ce que je ne pouuois faire dans un jour, les mantannes me temoignere la joye qu'il en auoit, en massurant que je ne deuois pas

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the Mandan seemed very sorry for my loss, and told me, for my consolation, that they had a great many rascals among them; he would do his best to find out something about it. If I had cared to avail myself of the offer of the Assiniboin, I might have found it quickly by using force; but I preferred to suffer loss and keep things quiet, as I meant to pass part of the winter with them to get some information about more distant parts.

On the 4th I got together the principal Mandan and Assiniboin men in the lodge in which I was, and made them a present of powder and ball, saying that I could not give them anything else; that they knew all the things that I had had to bring in order to give as presents [had been carried off]. I stated that I felt inclined to remain some time in order to become acquainted with the country in accordance with our orders, a thing which could not be done in a day. The Mandan expressed the joy this announcement caused them, and assured me that I need not be afraid

apreender de jeuner qu'ils auoit de vivres en reserve bien plus quil nous en faloit et que tout leur fort en étoit bien munie, j'en pouuois disposer étant maitre chez eux. Lancien des assiliboilles arengueur du vilage, me dit mon père, nous tauions amenée icy, je ne doute pas que tu ny sois bien icy, nous nous flattions de te ramener a ton fort, tu es le maitre de faire ce que tu jugeras apropos, nous uiendrons te chercher, si tost que tu le souhaitera, parlant ensuite aux mantannes, nous nous lessons notre pere, ayés en grand soing et de tous les françois, aprenés a les conoitre, cest un esprit, il save tout faire, nous laymons et le craignons faites comme nous, nous partons bien peiné du vol qui a esté fait à nostre pere en entrant chez nous, que peut il penser de nous autres, nous ne pouuons disconvenir que cest une chose indigne, le françois nous vien voir et vous le volé, uous estes fort heureux que notre pere soit bon cela naurait pas passé de même, je ne

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of starving because they had provisions in reserve far beyond our requirements, their whole fort being stocked with them, and that all was at my disposal as, with them, I was master.[1]

The Assiniboin elder who was orator of the village said to me: 'My Father, we brought you here, and I don't doubt that you will be comfortable here. We were hoping to take you back to your fort; but you are free to do what you judge best; we shall come for you whenever you wish it.' Then addressing the Mandan: 'We are leaving you our Father; take great care of him and of all the French; learn to know them, for they are wise, they know how to do everything. We love our Father and we fear him; do as we do. We are leaving much distressed over the theft committed on our Father as he came in among us. What can he think of us? We cannot help considering it a shameful thing: the Frenchman comes to see you and you rob him. It was fortunate for you that our Father is kind, as otherwise the thing would

[1] On Mandan hospitality see Will and Spinden, p. 127.

crains pas de uous le dire il nous auroit bien fait trouver le sac sil auoit uoulu, il est encore temps s'il le veut, je fis finir ce discours uoyant le vieillard qui commençoit a sechauffer, un des chefs mantannes respondit, ny moy, n'y mes gens nauons point de part a ce dont tu nous acuses, je ne repond point des autres, jen suis assés peinés, jay fait toutes recherches par mes jeunes gens, je nay rien a me reprocher qui sait si ca nest point un assiliboille, il y auoit des uns et des autres dans la foule, tu ne peus respondre de rien, ne sois point inquiète de ce qui regarde nostre pere, et tout son monde il est icy maitre comme ches luy, nous le prions de nous maitre au nombre de ses enfants, ce que je fis sur l'heure en mettant les mains sur la teste de chaque chef qui est la ceremonie ordinaire, responde par de grande aclamations de joye et de remerciment, je dis ensuite aux assiliboiles jenvoye quatre françois a mon fort pour y donner de mes nouvelles,

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have taken a different turn. I don't fear to tell you that, if he had wished, he could have made us find that bag, and there is time yet if he wishes it.' I put a stop to his speech, seeing that the old man was getting hot.

One of the Mandan chiefs replied: 'Neither I nor my people have any part in the accusations you are making: I do not answer for the others; I feel sore enough about it. I have made all enquiry in my power with the aid of my young men, and I have nothing to reproach myself with. Who knows that it was not an Assiniboin? There were men of both tribes in the crowd; you cannot answer for anything yourself. Don't be uneasy about our Father and all his men; he is master here as much as if he were at home; we beg him to admit us to the number of his children.'

This I did on the spot by placing my hands on the head of each chief, which is the usual form; and they all reply with shouts of joy and thankfulness. I then said to the Assiniboin: 'I am sending four Frenchmen to my fort to give them news

je vous recommande de les faire rendre le plus tot que vous pourrés, jay laissé de la poudre au vilage et tout ce qui est necessaire pour les faire conduire. Le Conseil finit par de grand remerciment de part et d'autre, comme les assiliboilles ne parloit point encore de partir ayant cependant fait leur achat de tout ce qu'il auoit pu estre en etat dacheter comme robe de beuf peinturé, peaux de serf et chevreuille bien passée et enjoliuée de poille et plumes des plumes peinte et poille, jartiere, ouvrage, tour de teste, seintures, ce sont gens qui passent mieux le cuire de toute les nations et trauaille bien delicatement en poilles et plumes, les assiliboilles ne sont pas capables den faire autant, Ils sont fin commerçant despouillés les assiliboilles de tout ce quils peuvent avoir comme fusille poudre balles chodiere ache couteaux aleine, uoyant la grande consommation de uiures qui se faisoit tous les jours

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of my doings, and I beg you to take them there as speedily as may be. I have left powder at the village and all else that is necessary for the accomplishment of the journey.' The council closed with great thanks from both parties.

As yet the Assiniboin were not talking of leaving, though they had completed their purchases of all the things they were to buy, such as coloured buffalo robes, deer and buck skins, carefully dressed and ornamented with fur and feathers, painted feathers and furs, worked garters, head-bands, girdles. Of all the tribes they [the Mandan] are the most skilful in dressing leather, and they work very delicately in hair and feathers [1]; the Assiniboin cannot do work of the same kind. They are sharp traders, and clean the Assiniboin out of everything they have in the way of guns, powder, ball, kettles, axes, knives and awls.

Seeing the great quantity of provisions the Assiniboin

[1] Maximilian of Wied describes in detail the coloured robes, leggings and other garments of the Mandan, representations of which will be found in his Atlas, as well as among the illustrations in Catlin's *North American Indians*, and Long's *Expedition to the Rocky Mountains*.

par les assiliboilles apreendant quil ne restasse longtemps il fire courir le bruit que les Sioux estoit proche, que plusieurs de leurs chasseurs les auoit aperçeu, les assiliboilles donnere dans le panneau et prire leurs partis bien vite pour descamper, ne voulant pas se trouver obligé de se battre, un chef mantanne me fit atendre par signe, que le bruit qui couroit au sujet des Sioux estoit pour faire partir les assiliboilles, le six au matin tous partire a grande haste croyant les Sioux proche et craignoit qui ne leur coupasse le chemin, le chef ches qui javois logé dans le village mamena cinq hommes pour rester avec moy en me disant mon Père, je te regrete, jespère toujours que tu nous viendra joindre un peu. je marcheré doucement, voila cinq de mes jeunes gens que je te donne pour rester icy avec toy et te conduiront quand tu voudra partir, je luy fis un petit present pour le remercier luy disant qu'il conoitroit que j'auois de lesprit dans peu,

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were consuming every day, and being afraid they would stay a long time, they spread the report that the Sioux were not far away ; that several of their hunters had caught sight of them. The Assiniboin fell into the trap and quickly decided to decamp, not wanting to have to fight. A Mandan chief made a sign to me to wait and that the report about the Sioux was only to get the Assiniboin to go. On the morning of the 6th they all left in great haste, believing the Sioux to be at hand and fearing that they would intercept them.

The chief with whom I had lodged in the village brought me five men to stay with me saying : ' My Father, I regret to leave you. I still hope you will come and overtake us in a short time ; I will move on gently. Here are five of my young men whom I give you to stay here with you ; they will bring you along whenever you wish to leave.' I made him a little present to thank him, telling him that he would know in a short time that I was the right kind of man, my

ayant dessin de le recompenser de son atention, Il partit avec de grandes protestations damitié, l'on ne uint auertir peu de temps après que notre interprete que j'auois bien payé pour massurér de luy estoit descampé malgré tous les offres que mon fils le chevalier luy peut faire allant après une femme assiliboille dont il etait amourachés, qui n'auoit pas uoulu rester auèc luy, Cestoit un jeune homme Crix de nations, parlant bon assiliboilles dont il y a plusieurs mantannes qui en parle assez bien je me fesois fort, bien entendre, mon fils parloit en crix et les crix interpretoit en assiliboille, nous voila reduit pour comble de malheur, a ne nous pouuoir faire entendre que par signe et demonstrations, Si je mestois mefié de mon interprete qui tous les jours massuroit de rester toujours auèc moy, de ne jamais mabandonner, jaurois profité du temps que je l'auois auprès de moy pour faire les demandes que je voulois faire aux mantannes me flattant auoir un homme sur jauois remis après le despard des assili-

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intention being to make him some due recompense for his attention. He left with great protestations of friendship.

Shortly afterwards I was informed that my interpreter, whom I had paid well to make sure of him, had decamped, in spite of all the offers my son the Chevalier could make him, in order to follow an Assiniboin woman of whom he was enamoured, but who had refused to remain with him. He was a young man, a Cree by nationality, who spoke good Assiniboin, and as there are several Mandan who speak it pretty well I made myself perfectly understood. My son spoke in Cree, and the Cree interpreted it into Assiniboin; but now, to crown our misfortunes, we were reduced to trying to make ourselves understood by signs and gestures. If I had distrusted my interpreter, who every day assured me that he would always stay with me and never abandon me, I would have taken advantage of the time he was with me to ask the questions that I wished to ask the Mandan; but, flattering myself that I had a man whom I could depend

boilles, estant toute la journée fort embarrassée Tout ce que j'ay peu sçauoir et quelque demande que je fesois faire le soir après que tout le monde estoit retiré, comme s'il y auoit bien du monde le long de la riuière en descendant quel nations, s'il auoit conoisance de bien loing, lon me repondit qu'il auoit cinq forts des deux bords de la riuière de leurs nations bien plus grand que celuy ou nous estions que a une journée du dernier de leurs fort estoit les *panaux*, qui auoit plusieurs fort, les *pananis* ensuite, que ces deux nations tenoit beaucoup de terrain estoit presentement en guerre auec eux depuis quatre ans, auoit toujours de tout temps

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on, I had put off doing so till after the departure of the Assiniboin.

All day long I was greatly perplexed. All that I succeeded in learning in the evening, after all the people had gone, in reply to any questions that I asked, such as whether there was much population along the river banks farther down, and of what nations it consisted, and whether they had any knowledge of a country far beyond, was that there were five forts of their own people on the two sides of the river much larger than the one we were in; that at a day's journey from the last of their forts were the Panaux, who had several forts, and beyond them the Pananis [1]; that these two tribes occupied a large territory, and that at present they were at war with the Mandan and had been for the last four years. Formerly they had always been their close

[1] One can only conjecture the identity of these Panaux, or Panana, and Pananis. The resemblance of the names to Pawnee, who were known to the French as Panis or slaves, and who have sometimes been referred to as Panana, Pananan, etc., is curious, but not conclusive. Lewis and Clark mention the Pawnee as living on the Platte, in villages, and cultivating corn. The Arikara, a branch of the Skidi Pawnee, occupied villages on the Missouri, and in other respects answer to La Vérendrye's description. Prof. Libby, whose article on Missouri village sites is referred to elsewhere, and who argues ingeniously that La Vérendrye visited, not the Mandan, but the Hidatsa or Grosventres, identifies the Panana as the Mandan, and the Pananis as the Arikara. Will and Spinden assume both the Panana and Pananis to be the Arikara (*The Mandans*, p. 95), and this seems, in all the circumstances, a reasonable assumption.

esté fort unis et alliance ensemble, qu'il me conterait par la suite les raisons qui les auoit brouillés, les *panana* et *pananis* fesoit leur fort et cabanes comme eux. Lesté blée et tabac au bas de la rivière qui se trouuoit fort large, ne uoyant point la terre dun bord a lautre, l'eau mauuaise à boire, toutes ces terres estoit habitées par des blanc comme nous, qui trauaillait le fer, Le mot de fer parmi toutes les nations dicy est toutes sorte des mesteaux sapelle fer, quil ne marchoit que a cheval tant pour la chasse que pour la guerre, lon ne pouvoit point tués d'homme auec la fleche ny le fusille estant couuert de fer mais que tuant le cheval l'on atrapoit homme facilement, ne pouuant courir, auoir des pare fleche de fer bien clair se batoit avec des lances et sabre dont il estoit bien

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allies, and I should hear later what had caused the falling out.

The Panana and the Pananis built their forts and lodges in the same way in which they themselves did. In the summer corn and tobacco grew lower down the river, which was very wide so that you could not see the land on the other side. The water was not drinkable ; all the land there was inhabited by people white like ourselves who worked in iron. Among all the tribes of this region the word iron seems to be applied indiscriminately to all metals. Those people, I was told, never went on foot, but always on horseback, both when they hunted and when they went to war. You could not kill any of these men with arrow or gun as they had iron armour, but that by killing a horse you could capture the man easily enough as he could not run. They had iron bucklers, very bright, and fought with lances and sabres, which they handled with great skill.[1] You never

[1] All this clearly refers to the Spaniards, with whom some of the Mandan may very well have come in contact on expeditions to the south. In fact the details furnished here are of such a character as to point rather to the testimony of eye-witnesses than that acquired at second-hand. Note also the explicit statement in the following paragraph that ' it took a whole summer to make the journey.'

adroit l'on ne voyait jamais de femme dans les champs, leurs fort et maisons estoit de pierre, je demandé s'il y auoit de beaux bois, si les prairies continuait toujours par hauteur et valon, Il me repondire que le bois estoit le long de la riuière par endroit qu'il y en auoit aussy dans les prairies par iles, plus lon descendoit, plus les cautes augmentoit quil y en auoit beaucoup qui nestoit que des rocher de belle pierre, surtout le long de la rivière, je demandés sil metoit bien du temps a aler ou estoit les blanc, gens de cheval, on me repondit que les *panana* et *pananis* auoit des chevaux comme les blanc, il leur faloit tout un estè pour en faire le voyage rien que des hommes, depuis qu'ils auoit guerre auec les *panana* ils nausoit entreprendre d'aller bien loing, Les chemins estoit bouchés pour eux, que les beuf estoit abondant dans les prairies, plus grand et plus gros de beaucoup que ceux que

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saw a woman in their fields; their fort and houses were of stone.

I asked if the country was well wooded, and if the prairies continued to be marked by risings and depressions. They said that wood was found along the river in places, and also in clumps through the prairies; the further you went down, the higher the hills became, and that there were many that were bare rocks of fine stone, especially along the river. I asked if it took a long time to go to the country where the whites, the men who rode horses, were. They replied that the Panana and Pananis had horses like the whites; it took them [1] a whole summer to make the journey with men alone; but since they had been at war with the Panana they did not venture to go very far. The roads were blocked so far as they were concerned. Buffaloes abounded in the prairies, much larger and heavier beasts than those we see in the

[1] That is, the Mandan, who at this period had not yet acquired horses. When, however, Lewis and Clark visited them in 1804, they had evidently been accustomed to the use of these animals for many years.

nous voyons dans les prairies le poille blanc et de plusieurs couleur, il nous montrere des cornes fenduë par la moitié qui tienne bien pres de trois chopines dune couleur verdastre, Il y en a dans toutes les cabanes qui leur serve de cullier a pot, preuve quils en ont beaucoup tués dans le temps quil auoit le chemin libre, C'est tout ce que jay peu sauoir encore bien par azard, content fort sur mon interprete et auoir tout le temps de minformer a font a loysir, le 6 après le despard des assiliboilles, j'enuoyés mon fils le cheualier auec le Sr nolant six françois et plusieurs mantannes au fort le plus près, qui est sur le bord de la riviere. Sil estoit bien receu d'y restér a coucher de sinformer de leurs mieux du ruent de vend de la rivière quil habite, sil ont connoissance du bas

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prairies here, their hides white and of several colours. They showed us some horns cut across the middle which hold nearly three pints, their colour being greenish. There are some in all the lodges which are used as ladles,[1] a proof that they killed a great many of them when the road was open.

That was all I was able to learn, and even so there was a good deal of chance about it. I had counted fully on my interpreter and expected to have plenty of time to inform myself thoroughly and at my leisure. On the sixth day after the departure of the Assiniboin I sent my son the Chevalier with the Sieur Nolan, six Frenchmen, and several Mandan, to the nearest fort, which is on the bank of the river. If they were well received they were to stay there over night and get as much information as they could as to the further course of the river on which those people dwell[2]; and, if they have any knowledge of the lower portion of it,

[1] 'The spoons,' says Maximilian of Wied, 'are generally large and deep; they are made of the horn of the bighorn; sometimes they are yellow, or else they are shallow, made of black buffalo's horn.'

[2] The Missouri.

selon ce qui nous en a esté dit, d'en tirér tout ce quil pouroit aprendre, Le tout par signe et démonstration, après leurs depard, Mr de Lamarque et moy, nous nous promenammes, pour obseruér la grandeur de leurs fortification, jordonné de contér les cabannes, lon trouva quil pouuoit y en auoir cent trente, toutes les ruës places et cabannes se ressemble, plusieurs de nos françois si ecartoit souvent, il tienne les rues et place fort nette, les rempard bien unie et Large, la palissade est apuyés sur des trauérs en mortoize dans des poteaux de quinze pieds a quinze points doublé, se sont des peaux verte quil mette pour doublage dans le besoin ataché seulemen par en haut dans les endroit quil est de besoin, Comme dans les bastion il y en a quatre a chaque courtine bien flanqué, le fort est batis sur un hauteur en pleine prairie

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according to what has been told to us, to get as many facts from them as possible, all of which would have to be done by signs and gestures.

After their departure M. de Lamarque and I took a walk to examine the extent of their fortifications. I gave orders to count the cabins, and we found that there were about one hundred and thirty. All the streets, squares and cabins are uniform in appearance; often our Frenchmen would lose their way in going about. They keep the streets and open spaces very clean; the ramparts are smooth and wide; the palisade is supported on cross pieces mortised into posts fifteen feet apart with a lining. For this purpose they use green hides fastened only at the top in places where they are needed. As to the bastions, there are four of them at each curtain well flanked.[1] The fort is built on an elevation

[1] Maximilian of Wied, describing one of the Mandan villages in 1833, says it 'forms an irregular circle, and was anciently surrounded with strong posts or palisades. . . . At four places, at nearly equal distances from each other, is a bastion built of clay, furnished with loopholes, and lined both within and without with basketwork of willow branches.' See also Will and Spinden, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

vn fausée qui a plus de quinze pieds de bas, sur quinze a dix-huit de large, lon ne peut monter a leurs fort que par des marche ou des piesses quil aute dans le danger de lennemy, si tous leurs fort sont pareille on les peut dire imprenable a des sauvages, leurs fortification n'est point du sauvuage; cette nation est d'un sang melée blanc et noir les femmes sont assés belles surtout les blanches beaucoup de cheveu blon et blanc, c'ést une nation fort laborieuse, hommes et femmes, leurs cabanne sont grande espacieuse séparé en plusieurs apartemens par des madriers fort large rien ne

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in mid-prairie with a ditch over fifteen feet deep and from fifteen to eighteen wide. Entrance to the fort can only be obtained by steps or pieces [of wood] which they remove when threatened by the enemy. If all their forts are similar you may say that they are impregnable to savages. Their fortification, indeed, has nothing savage about it.[1]

This tribe is of mixed blood, white and black. The women are rather handsome, particularly the light-coloured ones; they have an abundance of fair hair.[2] The whole tribe, men and women, is very industrious. Their dwellings are large and spacious, divided into several apartments by wide planks.[3]

[1] Maximilian of Wied was also struck with the character of the Mandan fortifications—remarkable as the work of a savage tribe. 'It is said,' he says, 'that these bulwarks . . . were erected for the Indians by the whites.'

[2] 'There are a great many of these people,' says Catlin, 'whose complexions appear as light as half-breeds; and amongst the women particularly there are many whose skins are almost white. . . . Governor Clarke told me, before I started for this place, that I would find the Mandans a strange people, and half white. . . . The diversity in the colour of the hair is equally as great as that in the complexion; for in a numerous group of these people . . . there may be seen every shade and colour of hair that can be seen in our own country, with the exception of red or auburn.'

[3] 'The huts,' says Maximilian of Wied, 'are of a circular form, slightly vaulted, having a sort of portico entrance. . . . The interior is spacious, tolerably light, and cleanly.' Catlin gives a similar account, at more length, in his *North American Indians*, i. 82; Will and Spinden, *op. cit.*, pp. 106 *et seq.*

traine, tout leurs equipage est dans de grands sac suspendue a des poteaux, leur lits faits en manière de tombeaux entouré de peaux, tout couche nuë homme et femme, ces hommes sont toujours nue couuert seulement dune robe de beuf, une grande partie de femmes nuës comme les hommes auec cette difference quel porte un petit brayet volant large de la main et dun pied de long cousuë a une seinture par deuant seulement, toutes les femmes ont cette espece de modeste . . .

Nothing is lying about: all their belongings are placed in large bags hung on posts [1]; their beds are made in the form of tombs and are surrounded by skins.[2] They all go to bed naked, both men and women. The men go naked all the time, being covered only by a buffalo robe.[3] Many of the women go naked like the men, with this difference, that they wear a small loin-cloth about a hand wide and a foot long sewed to a girdle in front only. All the women wear this kind of protection even when they wear a petticoat, so that

[1] 'Round the inner circumference of the hut lie or hang the baggage, the furniture, and other property, in leather bags, the painted parchment travelling bags, and the harness of the horses' (Maximilian of Wied, *Travels*). Catlin says the space between the beds is 'occupied by a large post, fixed quite firm in the ground, and six or seven feet high, with large wooden pegs or bolts in it, on which are hung and grouped . . . the arms and armour of the respective proprietor,' etc.

[2] 'The beds stand against the wall of the hut; they consist of a large square case made of parchment or skins, with a square entrance, and are large enough to hold several persons, who lie very conveniently and warm on skins and blankets' (Maximilian of Wied). Catlin describes the construction of the beds: 'A buffalo skin, fresh stripped from the animal, is stretched across the bottom poles, and about two feet from the floor, which, when it dries, becomes much contracted, and forms a perfect sacking-bottom. The fur side of this skin is placed uppermost, on which they lie with great comfort, with a buffalo robe folded up for a pillow, and others drawn over them instead of blankets. These beds . . . are uniformly screened with a covering of buffalo or elk skins . . . leaving a hole in front.' 'Their beds,' says Alexander Henry, 'are raised about two feet from the ground and hung around with dressed skins.'

[3] 'The men,' says Alexander Henry, writing in 1806 (Coues, *New Light, etc.*), 'wear no other covering in summer than buffalo robes, and even those are seldom worn within doors, being only thrown on when they go out to visit or walk about the village. Both sexes sleep naked.'

quoiqu'il ait une jupe ce qui fait qu'il ne se gene point ou ne se ser point les cuisses comme toutes les femmes sauvagesses pour sasseoir plusieurs porte une espece de camisol dun cuir de chevreüille bien molet, Il y a beaucoup de cheureuille, il est fort petit, leurs fort est rempli de cave ou ils ser tout ce quil ont comme grains, uiande, graisse, robe passée, peaux d'ours, ils sont bien muni, cést la monoie du pays, plus il en ont plus ils se tienne riche, ayme beaucoup la picure, il n'ont jamais que la moitié du corps piqué hommes et femmes, il trauaille en osier fort proprement plat et corbeille, il se

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they are not embarrassed when they sit down and do not have to keep the thighs closed like other Indian women. Some wear a kind of jacket of very soft buckskin.[1]

The roebuck is abundant in the region and is of a very small variety.[2] Their fort is very well provided with cellars, where they store all they have in the way of grains, meat, fat, dressed skins and bearskins. They have a great stock of these things, which form the money of the country. The more they have the richer they consider themselves. They are very fond of tattooing, but neither men nor women ever have more than half the body tattooed.[3] They do very fine

[1] ' The women wear a long leather garment, with open sleeves, and a girdle around the waist . . . their leggings, called by the Canadians mitasse, are short, reaching only from the ankle to the knee ' (Maximilian of Wied).

[2] Antelope (*Antilocapra americana*). Will and Spinden describe the Mandan method of catching antelope in parks or pounds (*The Mandans*, p. 121).

[3] ' Tattooing,' says Maximilian of Wied, ' is in use among these people, but by no means general. Most commonly only the left half of the breast and the corresponding arm are marked with black parallel stripes, and a few other figures. The lower arm and some of the fingers are occasionally marked ; the men do not tattoo their faces, and they are far inferior in this art to the New Zealanders and other nations of the South Seas. Among the women such designs are sometimes seen, but not frequently, and they are chiefly among the women's band of the white buffalo cow. The point of the needle is dyed a dark blue with the bark of the willow soaked in water.'

serve de pots de terre quils font comme bien d'autres nations, pour faire cuire leur manger, Ils sont pour la plupart grand mangeurs, sont fort pour les festins, l'on maportait tous les jours, plus de vingt plats, blée, feines et sitroüilles, cela tout cuit, m^{r} de la marque qui ne hayssait pas les festins y aloit continuellement avec mes enfants, Comme je ny alois point l'on m'enuoyait mon plat, les hommes sont gros et grand bien alerte pour la plus grande partie assés beaux du visage, belle fisionomie fort afable la plupart des femmes n'ont point la fisionomie sauvage, les hommes jouë a une espece de jeu de boule, sur les places et ramparts, Le S^{r} Nolant et

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wicker work, both flat and in basket form.[1] They use earthen vessels, which they make like many other tribes, for cooking their victuals.[2]

For the most part they are great eaters and are strong on feasts. Every day more than twenty dishes were brought to me, corn, beechnuts, pumpkin, and always cooked. M. de Lamarque, who had no repugnance to feasts, went continually to them with my sons. As I did not go, they sent me my dish. The men are big and tall, very active and, for the most part, good-looking, fine physiognomies, and affable. The women generally have not a savage cast of features. The men play at a kind of ball game on the open spaces and the ramparts.[3]

[1] Alexander Henry (Coues, *New Light, etc.*, vol. i., p. 340) mentions willow mats among the Mandan.

[2] 'The earthen dishes or bowls . . . are a familiar part of the culinary furniture of every Mandan lodge, and are manufactured by the women of this tribe in great quantities, and modelled into a thousand forms and tastes. They are made by the hands of the women from a tough black clay, and baked in kilns which are made for the purpose, and are nearly equal in hardness to our own manufacture of pottery, though they have not yet got the art of glazing. . . . They make them so hard and serviceable that they hang them over the fire as we do our iron pots, and boil their meat in them with perfect success' (Catlin).

[3] Alexander Henry gives the following account of this game: 'Two person are each provided with a stick six feet long, on which are cut a certain number of notches an inch long, in the intervals of which are

mon fils arriuere le 4 au soir fort satisfait de leurs voyage ayant esté très reçeu et fort solicité pour rester plus longtemps il me raportère Le fort est sur le bord de la riuière une fois aussi grand que celuy-cy, Les places et ruës fort belles, bien nette, leurs palissade est en meilleure ordre et fortification le tout fait de la même fason que celuy ou nous estions, selon ce qu'il auoit pu entendre, que tout leurs fort estoit pareille, qui voyait un voyait tout, auec cette différence qu'il y en auoit de bien plus grands les uns que les autres, que le dernier estoit le plus grand de tous, Le plus près des panana, que la

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The Sieur Nolan and my son arrived on the evening of the fourth highly satisfied with their journey, having been very well received and strongly urged to stay longer. The fort, they reported, is on the river bank and as large again as this one. The open spaces and the streets are very handsome and clean. Their palisade is in better order and stronger, the whole constructed, however, in the same fashion as the one in which we were; and, from what he was able to learn, all their forts are similar: when you see one you see them all, except that some are much larger than others; the farthest was the largest of all, the one nearest to the

fixed the same number of small bunches of feathers of divers colours, with three pieces of wood, 16 inches square, one near each end, and one in the middle; these are perforated in the centre, and through them is passed the rod, painted of divers colours. Each notch has a particular mark, the nature of which they themselves only understand—indeed, the same may be said of the whole game. The ground on which they play is a smooth level space, about 40 paces long and 5 broad. The players stand side by side, start from one end of the ground, and trot on till they are halfway through, when one of them throws a ball gently ahead, in such a manner that it will not roll further than the space allowed for the game; at the same time both players push their rod forward to overtake and keep pace with the ball, but not to check its course. They then examine the particular notch or bunch of feathers at which the ball stops, and count accordingly.' The same game is described by Maximilian of Wied, with the remark that it is called billiards by the French Canadians; also by Catlin, under the name of Tchung-kee: see his *North American Indians*, i. 132, and plate 59; also Will and Spinden, *The Mandans*, pp. 124–25.

rivière paroissoit aller selon la boussole aux sud-ouëst quard de sud par les signes que on leur avoit fait le bas peut, se rendre à la mer au sud ouest quard ouëst quil jouoit souuent au propos interrompu ne pouvant satendre Les demandes quil leurs fesoit, il repondoit d'autres choses, faute de pouvoir s'entendre, leaux de leur riviere desend avec une grande rapidité, beaucoup de bature, n'est pas des meilleure a boire, estant un peu salée. Nous auons toujours trouvée depuis la dernière montagne presque tous les maraix et estands salées, ou soufrée, que tout ce qu'il avait pu comp[rendre] est qu'il y avoit des hommes comme nous au bas de la riuiere, fesoit de lestoffes et toilles estoit fort nombreux, auoit guerres, avec une grande partie des sauuages, uoyant qu'il estoit inutile a nous de vouloir les questionnée ne pouuant nous entendre, nous nauons cessé destre en festin tout le temps que nous auons restés a leur fort, encore nous nauons

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Panana. According to the compass the river appeared to run south-west by south ; and by the signs which they had made it may flow into the sea in a direction south-west by west. Often they would interrupt one another through their impatience to speak. When asked about one thing they replied about something else through failure to comprehend.

Their river has a strong current and a good many shoals, and the water not of the best quality for drinking, being rather brackish. From the last mountain we have always found most of the marshes and pools saline or sulphurous. All they could make out was that there were men like us at the lower extremity of the river ; that they fabricated stuffs and linens ; that they were very numerous, and carried on war with many of the Indian tribes. Seeing that it was useless for us to try to question them, as they could not understand us, we had to fall back on feasting the whole time we stayed at their fort ; even so, we could not

peu aler a tous ceux ou nous estions priés, nous auons remarqué que dans la plaine il y a plusieurs petits forts de quarante a cinquante cabannes, construit comme les grand il ny a personne pour le present, il nous ont fait entendre qu'il si retiroit lesté dedans pour trauaillée a leurs champs, qu'il y auoit beaucoup de grain dans les caves en réserve. C'est tout ce qu'il me pouuait donnée de connoissance de leurs uoyage, j'ordonné a mon fils de prendre hauteur le huit de Decembre. Il trouva quarante huit degrés douze minutes, je consulté le 7 au soir auec m[r] de lamarque sur le party que nous deuions prendre. Il sauoit comme moi qu'il nous restoit peu de chose pour le présent, ce qui nous

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go to all the feasts to which we were invited. We remarked that in the plain there are several small forts of from forty to fifty cabins each, constructed in the same manner as the large ones. At present they are uninhabited. We were given to understand that they went there in summer in order to work in the fields and that there was a large reserve of grain in the cellars.

This was all that they were able to tell me of their journey. I instructed my son to take the latitude on the 8th of December. He found it to be forty-eight degrees, twelve minutes.[1] On the evening of the seventh I had a consultation with M. de Lamarque as to what course we should take. He knew, as I did, that we had hardly anything

[1] Obviously inaccurate. As Mr. Warren Upham notes, in his article on 'The Explorations of Verendrye and his Sons,' this latitude would place the village 'in the vicinity of the White Earth river, north-west of the present Fort Berthold Reservation, and about a hundred miles north-west from the mouth of Knife river, where the Mandans were visited by Lewis and Clark, Maximilian and Catlin,' and, as elsewhere noted, this was some eighty miles up the Missouri from the ruins of the old villages, supposedly those visited by La Vérendrye. David Thompson found the position of the lower Mandan village, in 1797, to be in lat. 47° 17′ 22″, long. 101° 14′ 24″.

mestoit dans limpossible d'aler plus loin, la saison trop facheuse pour pouuoir rien entreprendre par dessus tout point d'interprete ny esperance den auoir de l'hiver, nous auions tout lieux de craindre, que les Chemins ne deuinse impraticable pour le printemps par raport aux eaux, et en risque d'ariuer trop tard pour le départ de nos canots, la poudre que je pouuois auoir, ne seroit peut estre pas sufisante pour fournir a tous nos besoins dans le cours de l'hiver, et le peu de marchandises qu'il me restoit, nous pourrions nous trouuer embarrassés auec tout notre monde, nayant plus rien pour nous faire conduire, que le sauuage ne rendoit seruice quautant que lon le payait et dauance, qu'il regardoit les promesses, comme une bien petite resource, d'une autre costé que nous auions lieux dapreender à nous mettre en marche, dans la plus rude saison de l'année, après auoir balancé le tout nous decidames qu'il nous faloit partir lessér

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left for the present, which made it impossible for us to go farther; the season moreover was too unfavourable to permit us to undertake anything; and above all we had no interpreter nor any chance of getting one during the winter. There was every reason to fear that travelling would become impracticable in the spring owing to floods, and that we should be in danger of arriving too late for the departure of our canoes. The powder I had might not be enough for all our needs through the winter, and there was so little left in the way of goods that we might have trouble with all our people through not being able to pay those who were conducting us, for the savage will only serve for pay, and that he wants in advance—promises do not go far with him. On the other hand there was danger to be apprehended from starting in the most inclement season of the year.

After having weighed all the arguments, we decided that we had best start [on our return], leaving behind two

seulem[t] deux hommes capable de pouvoir aprendre la langue en peux en lesser vn dans le fort ou nous estions et lautre dans le fort le plus près, estant seul qu'il aprendroit bien plus uitte et nous pourroit donnér par la suitte toutes connaissances m[r] de lamarque choisit un de ses engagés homme d'esprit [qu'il m'o]ffrit comme estant un des plus capables sachant escrire, je laccepté avec plaisir et lui donnée pour second mon domestique, qui m'estoit cependant fort utile et fort atachés a mon seruice je préferés a m'en priuér à l'hutilité qu'il me pourroit estre par la suitte, luy connoissant un esprit fort uif beaucoup de memoire grande facilité pour les langues, bien sage et bien craignant Dieu, je leur donnés une bonne instruction de tout ce qu'il auoit a faire et M[r] de lamarque de son costé leurs promettent de les enuoyer chercher dans le cours de l'ésté prochain, Cela finit pour les deux hommes que je lessois, j'auertis nos cinq assiliboilles,

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men only, competent to learn the language quickly, one in the fort where we were, and one in that nearest to it; each being thus left by himself with the savages would learn the language much more quickly and would be able later to give us all information. M. de Lamarque chose one of his hired men, an intelligent fellow whom he offered to me as being one of the most capable, a man able to write; I accepted him with pleasure, and, as second to him, I gave my servant, notwithstanding that he was very useful to me and strongly attached to my service. I preferred to deprive myself of him in consideration of the use he would be later, knowing that he had a quick intelligence, a good memory, a great faculty for learning languages, and was a prudent God-fearing man. I thoroughly instructed both as to all they had to do, and M. de Lamarque promised on his part to send for them in the course of next summer.

Having thus settled matters regarding the two men I was leaving, I notified our five Assiniboin that I wished to

à qui je fis entendre que je voulois partir en peu ce qu'il leur fi grand joye, je leur montré par signe ne pouvant me faire entendre autrement qu'il falloit partir deux auéc deux françois des le lendemain au matin que tout ce qui leur faudroit seroit prést, pour se rendre en diligence au village les auertir de nous atendre, que je partirois quatre jours après eux, que j'alés tout préparér pour mon voyage je donné ensuite conoisance aux mantannes de mon dessein, cela paruë leurs faire bien du chagrin, je leur montré les deux françois que je lessois a ma place en leur recommandant d'en auoir bien soin Il me firent de grand remerciments auéc de grandes protestation d'amitié et fidelité, je leur donois a connoitre par la que je ne les abandonois pas, je demandé au Chef que l'on me fit de la farinne groulée, pour notre voyage, la nouvelle fut bien tost repanduë dans tout le fort, le 8. au matin, je fis partir deux françois conduit par deux

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start in a short time, which greatly delighted them. I indicated to them by signs, having no other means of communication, that two of them were to leave with two Frenchmen the next morning; that everything they needed would be ready, so that they might go in all haste to the village and tell them to wait for us; and that I should leave four days later and was about to prepare everything for my journey. I then informed the Mandan of my intention, which appeared to cause them much regret. I pointed out the two Frenchmen whom I was leaving in my place, and asked them to take good care of them. They thanked me earnestly with many protestations of friendship and fidelity. I gave them to understand in that way that I was not abandoning them. I asked the chief to give me some flour paste for our journey. The news was quickly spread abroad throughout the fort.

On the morning of the 8th I started two Frenchmen, conducted, as I have already mentioned, by two Assiniboin,

assiliboilles comme j'ay déja parlé pour allér auertir le vilage de mon despart, lon maporta de ces farinnes de blé groulée dans la journée bien plus qu'il ne me faloit, je remerciés en donnant quelques eguilles qu'il estime beaucoup, il mauroit chargés cent hommes dans la journée en peu de temps, tout sempressoit de m'en aportér, je fis prendre a tous nos gens ce qu'il en voulure, cela fut fait en tres peu de tems, ayant pourveü a tout ce qui estoit de besoin a tout notre monde, je fis asemblér les chefs et principaux mantannes, leurs fis un présent de poudre balles et plusieurs menuité qu'il estime beacoup par le besoin ou il en sont, je donné au premier chéf vn pauillion, luy donné une plaque de plom, que j'auois ornée par les quatre coing auéc du ruban l'on la mit dans une boëte pour estre gardé a perpetuité, en memoire de la prise de possession que je fesois au nom du Roy de leurs terres, elle sera bien gardée de pere en fils mieux que si je leuse mise

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to go and notify the village of my departure. The Mandan brought me in the course of the day much more of the prepared flour than I needed. I thanked them and gave them some needles, which they value highly. They would have loaded a hundred men for me very quickly; all were eager to bring it. I got all our people to take as much of it as they wished, which was done in a very short time. Having provided for the wants of all our people, I assembled the chiefs and the principal men of the Mandan and made them a present of powder, ball and a number of small articles, to which they attach much value owing to the need they have of them. To the principal chief I gave a flag and also a lead tablet the four corners of which I had ornamented with ribbon. This was placed in a box to be kept in perpetuity in remembrance of my having taken possession of their land in the King's name. It will be carefully preserved from father to son, better than if I had buried

en terre ou elle auroit pu courir risque destre friponé, je leurs fis comprendre du mieux que je peus que je leurs lessois cette marque en memoire des françois venue sur leurs terres, j'aurois fort souhaité me pouuoir faire entendre pour leurs dire bien de choses, qui leurs auroit esté fort utile et a nous ce qui ne se pouuoit a mon grand regret et aux leur. J'auois travaillé avec tant de diligence que le huit au soir tout estoit prèst pour notre despard, que je contois preuenir plustot que je nauois marqué, je tombé malade la nuit du 8. au 9.

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it in the ground, where it might have run a risk of being stolen.[1]

I made them understand as well as I could that I left them this token in memory of the French who had come into their territory. I should greatly have wished to be able to make myself understood in order to say a number of things which would have been very useful both to them and to us; this, however, was impossible, to their great regret and to mine. I had worked with so much diligence that, by the evening of the 8th, everything was in readiness for our departure, which I was purposing to effect earlier than I had mentioned; but in the night from the 8th to

[1] A *procès verbal* in the French Archives, quoted by Alback, gives an interesting account of a similar ceremony, at the mouth of the Mississippi, in 1682, when La Salle took possession of Louisiana in the name of the King: 'We prepared a column and cross, and to the said column we affixed the arms of France with this inscription: "Louis le Grand, roi de France et de Navarre, régne, le Neuvième Avril, 1682." The whole party under arms chanted the *Te Deum*, the *Exaudiat*, the *Domine Salvum fac Regem*; and then after a salute of firearms, and cries of *Vive le Roi*, the column was erected by M. de la Salle, who standing near it said with a loud voice: "In the name of the Most High, Mighty, Invincible and Victorious Prince, Louis the Great, by the grace of God, King of France and of Navarre, Fourteenth of that name, this the 9th day of April, 1682, I, in virtue of the Commission of His Majesty . . . have taken and do now take in the name of His Majesty, and of his successors to the Crown, possession of this country of Louisiana. . . ." And the said Sieur de la Salle caused to be buried at the foot of a tree a leaden plate, on one side of which were engraved the arms of France, and on the other an inscription in Latin, with the name of the King, the date, the number in the expedition, and the extent of the river which they had navigated.'

je me trouvé en bien peu de temps fort mal, je ne sauois que en pensér, je gardé le lit trois jours, me trouuant mieux le quatrieme je me disposée a partir le lendemain je donné aux deux hommes que je lessois de quoy les defrayér gracement et mesme pour payér un guide si besoin estoit pour les ramenér a notre fort, les instruisent encore derechef du sujet qui m'obligeoit a les lesser la, si tost quil pourroit se faire entendre de ne rien négliger pour conoitre quel estoit cette nation de blanc quel fer est quil travaillait, sil y auoit quelque minnes a leurs conoissances, quel nation au desue. En montant la riuière sil conoisoit un hauteur des terres, en un mot ne rien negliger pour auoir toutes les conoisance possible du païs.

Je partis quoyque malade, dans lesperance que cela ne seroit rien, et que je rétrouverois ma boete au vilage, dans

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the 9th I fell ill, and quickly became very bad. I did not know what to think of it. I kept my bed for three days; on the fourth, finding myself better, I arranged to leave the next day. I gave to the two men whom I was leaving behind enough to pay their expenses handsomely and even to hire a guide, if necessary, to conduct them to our fort, instructing them anew as to the cause which obliged me to leave them there; as soon as they were able to make themselves understood they were to lose no opportunity of finding out what was that nation of whites [that had been talked about]; what metal it was that they worked; whether there were any mines they knew about; and what tribe lived higher up the river; whether as they went up the river they knew of a height of land: in a word they were to leave nothing undone to get all possible knowledge of the country.

On the 13th of December I started, to the great regret of all the Mandan. I was still ill, but hoped it would not be anything serious, and that, on arriving at the village,

la quelle j'auois mis quelque remede le 13. de desembre au grand regret de tous les mantannes un chef nous vint conduire jusque a une lieuë et demy dou je le renuoyé, il me temoigna par de grande demonstrations le regret quil auoit de mon despard me faisant signe de ne point l'embandonner de reuenir quil nous acompagneroit ; je luy donné un petit present de poudre en luy recommandant derechef les deux françois que je leurs laissois, il me fit signe quil en aloit prendre un ches luy, je le congedié apres auoit bien fait de remerciments, le soir je mapersue que nous nauions que deux assiliboilles auec nous, il me fire entendre quil en estoit resté un auec nos françois ne uoulant point les abandonner quil ne reuiendroit que dans lesté auèc eux, j'arriuée au vilage le 24. toujours bien mal nous auions esuyés des froit exesiue qui nous causere un grand retardement, l'on me rendit ma boëte, rien ny auoit estés touché il sestoit contenté du sac de lesclaue que l'on me rendit uide, estant un peu reposée,

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I should recover my box in which I had some medicine. A chief accompanied us for a league and a half, when I sent him back. He made great demonstration of the regret he felt at my departure, making signs to me not to abandon him, but to return, and he would accompany us. I made him a little present of powder, recommending to him again the two Frenchmen I was leaving behind. He made signs that he would take one of them to live with him, and I dismissed him with many thanks. In the evening I perceived that we had only two Assiniboin with us. They gave me to understand that one had remained behind with our Frenchmen, being unwilling to leave them, and that he would only return in the summer with them.

I arrived at the village on the 24th still very ill. We had experienced excessive cold which caused us great delay. I got back my box ; nothing in it had been touched ; the fellow had contented himself with my slave's bag, which was

je leurs fis reproche de ce quil mauoit menty au sujet des mantannes de tout ce quil mauoit dit jauois trouué bien peu de verités, lon me repondit quil nauoit pas pretendue parlér des mantannes en disant quil estoit comme nous quil auoit pretenduë parlér de cette nation qui est au bas de la riuiere, qui trauaille le fer, un assiliboille se leua audessue des autres en me disant celuy icy le seul qui ten peux mieux parlér, tu n'a pas bien entendue ce que l'on ta dit, je ne ment point Lesté dernier j'en ai tués un, qui estoit couuert de fer comme j'ay déja dit plusieurs fois, si je nauois pas tués le cheval le premier je naurois pas héu l'homme je luy dis qu'a tu aportés a sa dépouille pour nous faire uoir que tu dis uray, comme je luy uoulois couper la teste j'aperceu des hommes a cheual qui me coupoit le chemin j'éu bien de la peine a me sauuer, je n'auois garde de rien aportér je cheté tout ce que jauois jusque a ma couuerture me sauuend nue, ce que je

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returned to me empty. When I had rested a little I reproached them with having lied to me about the Mandan: of all that they had told me I had found very little that was true. They replied that they did not mean the Mandan when they spoke of a nation like us, that they meant the nation that dwells down the river and that works in iron.

One Assiniboin rose above the others and said: 'I am the man best able to talk to you about this. You did not rightly understand what was said to you. I don't tell any lies. Last summer I killed one [of that nation] who was covered with iron as I have already said several times. If I had not killed his horse first I should not have got the man.' I said to him: 'What did you take from his body to let us see that you are speaking the truth?' [He answered] 'As I was about to cut off his head I saw some men on horseback who were intercepting my retreat, and I had much difficulty in escaping. I couldn't bring anything with me; I threw away everything I had even to my blanket,

dis est uraye je te le ferés dire par d'autre qui estoit auec moy, ce printemps prochain, il ne sont point icy actuellement mais tu les uoyra ce que jay dit je te le repete encor, on ne uoye point l'autre cauté de la riuière leaux est salée c'est un païs de montagne, grande espace entre les montagnes de beau terein quantité de beuf gros et grand blanc et de diferente couleur beaucoup de serf et de cheureille, jay ueu de leurs champ de blée on y uoit point de femmes ce que je te dis est sens desein tu en aprendera plus par la suitte, je continués ma route après trois jours de repos, je me rendis a la première montagne le 9 de jenuier ou nous auons séjournée longtemps m^r^ delamarque prit le partis de sen aler deuend, me uoyant toujours bien mal, dans le desein de m'enuoyer du secour, il arriua le premier de feuriér, je nariuée que le dix, bien fatigués et bien mal, jauois heu le secour quil m'auoit enuoyés

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and ran away naked. What I tell you is true, and next spring I can get others who were with me to tell you the same. They are not here now, but you shall see them. What I have told you I repeat: you can't see the other side of the river; the water is salt; it is a mountainous country, with wide spaces between the mountains consisting of fine land; a vast quantity of buffalo large and heavy, some white, others of different colours, many deer and roebuck. I have seen their cornfields; you don't see any women in them. I am telling you this frankly, and you will learn more about it by and by.'

After three days' rest I continued my journey and on the 9th of January got to the first mountain, where we stayed a long time. M. de Lamarque determined to go on ahead, seeing that I was still very ill, and meaning to send me help. He arrived on the 1st of February, I not until the 10th, and very tired and very ill. I got the help he sent me at

à trente-cinq lieues du fort, qui me fit bien plesir en ayant grand besoin, je nay jamais de ma uie enduré tant de misère mal et fatigues que dans ce uoyage la, je me suis trouuée en quinze jour de repos un peu restablie, m^r^ de lamarque atendoit mon arriuée pour prendre son partis a aler au fort de morpas ayant apris quil ny auoit point de uivres, je luy dis que je pencois sa presence estoit bien hutile dans son poste, il se détermina a partir, me demanda a lesser m^r^ son frère, auec une grande partis de ces engagés pour uiures à mon fort se flatent quil y auoit plus desperance de uoir du monde, nous n[ous somm]es trouuée bien prest de jeuner, heureusement quil nous est venue deux cabannes de sauuages, que jay aresté aux fort il nous font uiure par leurs chasse doriginal et biche, nous sommes quarante-deux personnes dans le fort, Cela fait une grande consommation, m^r^ de lamarque est partis le 16 du mois jay reçeu de ses nouuelles

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thirty-five leagues from the fort, and great comfort it gave me, for my need was extreme. Never in my life did I endure so much misery, pain and fatigue as in that journey. After a fortnight's rest I found myself rather better. M. de Lamarque was awaiting my arrival in order to decide upon going to fort Maurepas, having learnt that they had run out of provisions. I told him that I thought his presence was very useful at his post, so he determined to start.

He asked permission to leave his brother with a considerable number of his hired men to board at my fort, thinking that there was more hope of seeing people [Indians]. We were very near being on short commons, but luckily two lodges of savages came to us whom I stopped at the fort and who are helping us along by hunting moose and deer. There are forty-two persons in the fort, and that makes a big consumption [of provisions]. M. de Lamarque left on the 16th of the month, and I received news from him shortly afterwards :

peux de temps après, il me marque quil apreende bien de jeuner ne uoyant pas grand sauuages, nous voila maintenant au saise daurille et nous nauons encore veu personnes, je ne say ce que Dieu nous garde.

J'ay fait partir mon fils le cheualier ce matin 16 daurille auec un sauuage pour alér faire la descouuerte du fort du lac 8nipigon, et prendre conoisance des rivières qui tombe dedans, surtout de la riuière blanche, ou j'ay desein d'alér aux retour de nos canots, de la mine qui est dans le lac et de celle qui est dans la rivière blanche de la décharge du lac, en faire le tour, tachés dempêcher les sauuages dalér aux Englois, leurs fesent espérér nôtre arriuée en peux.

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he tells me that he greatly fears they will have a hungry time as they see very few savages. 'Here we are,' he says, 'at the 16th of April, and we have not yet seen anybody. God knows what is in store for us!'

I sent off my son the Chevalier this morning, the 16th of April, in company with a savage, to go and explore the region near the fort on Lake Winnipeg [1] and examine the rivers that flow into that lake, especially the Blanche river,[2] whither I propose to go on the return of our canoes, also the mine on the lake and the one on the Blanche river,[3] and to explore the outlet of the lake and make the circuit of it, and try to prevent the savages from going to the English by encouraging them to look for our arrival in a short time.

[1] Fort Maurepas, near the mouth of Winnipeg river.

[2] Rivière Blanche is shown on the 1737 map, and is evidently the Saskatchewan. J. B. Tyrrell, in support of this view, notes that the Saskatchewan is shown on Jeffrey's map of 1762 as White or Hinds river (*Geol. Survey of Canada Report*, 1898, 89G). On the other hand, Dr. Elliott Coues notes that Sir Alexander Mackenzie and D. W. Harmon refer to the Winnipeg as White river, 'after Rivière Blanche of the French' (*New Light, etc.* i. 27). See footnote, page 247.

[3] The explorer no doubt has in mind the reports he had of the Indians, as mentioned in his journals of 1729 and 1734. Jeffrey's 1762 map shows 'Iron Island' in Lake Winnipeg, which Tyrrell identifies as Black Island. For an account of iron deposits on this island, see Tyrrell's report in *Geol. Survey of Canada Report*, 1898, pp. 60G *et seq.*

J'ay receu une lettre de Mr de lamarque le 23 daurille qui me marque navoir heu encore aucun sauuage quil a pris son partis pour les alér trouvér dans la grande riviere de 8nipigon ou il sont àffaire leurs canots.

Je pense que c'est embandonner de bonheur le poste, les sauuages pouroit de la riviere rouge arivér après leur despard. le 22 du present mois j'ay apris par un sauuage quune grande bande d'assiliboilles cestoit rangés dans le lac des prairies, qui travaillait affaire des canots, pour allér aux Englois.

J'ay enuoyé le 24. Senchagrin avec un engagés pour les amener icy, enfin de les destourner dalér aux Englois.

Le 30. il nous est arivée cinq assiliboilles sur le soir pour mauertir qu'il venoit bien du monde, nous en avons grand besoin, nayant rien fait jusqua present.

Le 3. de may cette grande bande c'est reduit a bien peux de monde.

On the 23rd of April I received a letter from M. de Lamarque, telling me that they have not had any savage yet, and that he has decided to go and find them on the great Winnipeg river, where they are making canoes.

That, I think, is abandoning the post too soon; the savages of the Red river might arrive after their departure. On the 22nd of the present month I learnt from a savage that a large band of Assiniboin had gathered at the Lake of the Prairies, and are making canoes in order to go to the English.

On the 24th I sent Sanschagrin with a hired man to bring them here so as to turn them aside from going to the English.

On the 30th five Assiniboin came to us towards evening to let me know that a lot of people are coming; we have great need of them, having done nothing up to the present.

On the 3rd of May the great band promised dwindled down to a very small one.

Le 10 Mr nolan desesperend quil viene davantage du monde ma demandés a partir me representant quil nauoit plus de vivres ne pouuant rester plus longtemps, j'ay fait mon possible pour l'engagér a patientér encore quelque temps estant bien facheux quil partit a leige.

Le voyant desterminée a partir je luy ay permis.

Le même jour 10. au soir il nous est arivé quinse assiliboilles pour nous avertir quil estoit de soixante cabannes que lon leur avoit dit que nous estions partis.

Je les ay renvoyés avec du tabac pour les faire pressér de venir. Ils sont arivée le 18 et fait leur trette en peu de temps.

Ceux la partis le 20. trois hommes sont arivée pour me prier de differer le despard quil aloit arivée trente cabannes.

Je les ay fait partir avec diligence leur donnant du tabac pour dire a leur gens de se presser de venir.

On the 10th M. Nolan, giving up hope of any more coming, asked leave to go, representing that his provisions were exhausted and that he could not stay any longer. I did my best to get him to hold out a little longer, being very sorry that he should go away empty-handed. Seeing him determined to leave, however, I gave him permission.

On the same day, the 10th, in the evening fifteen Assiniboin came to tell us that they belonged to a band of sixty lodges, and that they had been told that we had gone. I sent them back with some tobacco in order that they might press the others to come. They came on the 18th and did their trading in a short time.

These left on the 20th, and three men then came to beg me to defer our departure as thirty lodges would shortly arrive. I sent them off in haste, giving them some tobacco, to tell their people to make haste to come.

J'ay descouverd ces jours icy une riviere qui desend dans l'oüést tous les lacs et rivieres que j'ay heu de conoisance vont a la baye du deson mer du nor hor la riviere des mantannes.

J'en prenderé une entiere conoisance cet estée par moymême ou par personne commis de ma part.

J'ay fait diferé le depard de mes canots jusque au 28 du mois pour attendre du monde inutilement il n'en est uenuë que peu il remette tous a me uenir uoir dans l'Estée.

Il sont si beste qu'il pense que lon les ua attendre une partie de l'Estée et quil sera toujours assés temps pour emportér leurs castor.

Je leurs promets bien sitost mon fils ariués et les deux

I discovered a few days ago a river flowing west.[1] All the lakes and rivers of which I have so far had knowledge flow into Hudson Bay, the Northern Sea, with the exception of the River of the Mandan. I shall make a thorough survey of it myself this summer or depute some one to do it.

I have held back the departure of my canoes till the 28th of the month, waiting for people [Indians] to come, but to no purpose; only a few have come. They are all putting off coming to see me till the summer. They are so silly that they think we are going to wait for them into the summer, and that it will always be time enough to bring their beaver.

I promise them that, as soon as my son and the two men

[1] It is difficult to find a satisfactory explanation of this statement. La Vérendrye, it will be remembered, was now at fort La Reine, on the Assiniboine. On his way back from the Mandan he may very well have followed the Souris to where, after its great bend down into North Dakota, it turns almost due west for some distance, before recrossing the boundary into Canada. Standing at the turn, a traveller new to the country might readily assume that this was 'a river flowing west.' Or he means the Missouri, which on some of his maps seems to take a great bend toward the west or south-west.

hommes que j'ay laissés au mantannes descamper d'icy au plus vitte.

A M. le M[arquī]s de Beauharnois.

A V[ersai]lles le p[remi]er May 1739.

M.

J'ay recu les lettres que vous m'avés ecrites les 1. 6. 11. et 28 Octobre de l'année d[ernie]re.

Je n'ay rien a ajouter a ce que je vous ay marqué par ma dêpeche du 23 Avril de l'année d[ernie]re au sujet de L'Entreprise du S. de la Veranderie. Il est a souhaiter que cet off[ici]er puisse detruire les soupçons auxquels il a jusqu'a present donné lieu ; Je serois bien aise de voir qu'il eut fait assés de progrès pour cela dans le compte que vous devés me rendre cette année des mouvemens qu'il aura faits.

Il est vray, co[mm]e vous l'observés, que les liaisons que ce même officier a faites avec les nations qui sont etablies

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I left with the Mandan arrive, I shall get out of here as quickly as possible.

Maurepas to Beauharnois.

Versailles, May 1, 1739.

Monsieur,

I have received the letters that you wrote me on the 1st, 6th, 11th and 28th of October of last year.

I have nothing to add to what I observed to you, in my despatch of the 23rd of April of last year, regarding the enterprise of the Sieur de la Vérendrye. It is to be hoped that that officer will succeed in removing the suspicions for which, up to the present, he has given cause. I should be glad to find from your report of this year on his movements that he had made sufficient progress to effect this result.

It is true, as you observe, that the connections which he has formed with the tribes whose settlements surround his

aux environs de son poste ne pourroient que procurer de grands avantages à la Colonie, si les sentimens qu'Elles font paroitre pour les françois etoient sinceres, mais il y a si peu de fonds à faire sur ces sortes d'aparences, qu'il n'y a que le tems qui puisse faire connoitre à quoy l'on pourra s'en tenir sur cela. Quoy qu'il en soit vous avés bien fait de luy recommander d'entretenir ces nations dans les dispositions où Elles paroissent etre, et de travailler a apaïser les troubles que les scioux ont excités parmy Elles afin de parvenir a une paix qui n'est pas moins nec[essai]re pour le succez de son entreprise que pour celuy des mines de cuivre suposé que cette derniere entreprise puisse avoir lieu.

A l'egard de l'évacuation du poste des scioux, c'est une affaire dont il ne doit plus etre question ; et je n'ay qu'a vous recommander de vous conformer en pareil cas a ce que

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post could not fail to produce great advantages to the colony, provided the sentiments expressed by them in favour of the French were sincere, but so little weight attaches to appearances of this kind that time alone can tell what dependence is to be placed on them. You have done right, however, in recommending him to keep those tribes in the favourable dispositions they are manifesting, and to labour to appease the troubles which the Sioux have excited amongst them, in order to secure a peace which is not less necessary for the success of his undertaking than for that of the exploitation of the copper mines,[1] assuming that the latter can be taken in hand.

As regards the evacuation of the post among the Sioux, it is a matter that is no longer necessary to discuss, and I can only recommend you to be guided in any similar case

[1] See documents in *Wis. Hist. Coll.* vol. xvii., particularly Beauharnois' letters to Maurepas of October 5, 1738, and October 4, 1739 ; La Ronde's letter to Beauharnois of February 17, 1739, his letter to Maurepas of October 18, 1739, with his memoir on the discovery of copper mines. See also documents on the same subject in vols. xvi. and xix.

je vous ay prescrit par ma depeche du 23 Avril de l'année d[erniè]re, au surplus j'ay eté bien aise d'aprendre que cet evenement n'avoit point eu de suites ; et il est a souhaiter que les soins que le S. de la Veranderie doit se donner pour consilier les nations de ces quartiers puissent reussir. . . .

[*Lettre de Monsieur le Marquis de Beauharnois*]
[à Québec le 14 Aoust 1739.]

Monseigneur,

. . . . .

Je n'ay point encore receu de lettre du S[ieu]r de Laverendrye la personne qui en est chargée n'étant point encore descendue, et qui selon les apparences veut me les remettre, l'on m'a cependant assuré qu'il avoit pénétré chés une nation inconnue jusqu'à présent appelle les Blancs Barbus.

. . . . .

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by what I laid down in my despatch of the 23rd of April of last year. I was glad, after all, to learn that it had not led to any consequences. We must wish for the success of the endeavours which the Sieur de la Vérendrye is to make to conciliate the tribes in that region.

Beauharnois to Maurepas.

Quebec, August 14, 1739.

Monseigneur,

. . . . .

I have not yet received any letter of Sieur de la Vérendrye, the person entrusted with it not having yet come down, and apparently wishing to deliver it to me. I am, however, assured that he had penetrated to the territory of a hitherto unknown nation called the Blancs Barbus [White Beards].[1]

[1] The Mandan.

[*Lettre de Monsieur le Marquis de Beauharnois*]
[à Québec le 6 Octobre 1739.]

Monseigneur,

J'ay receu la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 1er. May dernier à l'occasion du S[ieur] De la Verendrye, vous verrez, Monseigneur, par l'extrait du journal de cet officier qui est cy joint, qu'il a pénétré chez une nation, que les Assiniboels nomment Mantannes, et les raisons qui l'ont empêché d'aller plus loin.

Il me marque par sa lettre du 28. May der[ni]er qu'il se flate l'année prochaine, de me donner une entière connoissance des découvertes et établissemens qu'il a faits et poura faire, que ses enfans et engagés sont remplis de courage et de bonne volonté, pour découvrir quelque chose qui puisse mériter attention, et que toutes les nations, sont dans de très bonnes dispositions pour les françois.

Beauharnois to Maurepas.

Quebec, October 6, 1739.

Monseigneur,

I have received the letter you did me the honour to write me on the first of May last with reference to the Sieur de la Vérendrye; you will see, Monseigneur, by the annexed extract from the journal of that officer, that he has penetrated to the territory of a tribe whom the Assiniboin call Mandan, and the causes which prevented him from proceeding further.

He states in his letter of the twenty-eighth of May last that he hopes next year to give me a complete account of the discoveries and establishments that he has made and shall be able to make; that his sons and his hired men are full of courage and goodwill to discover something that shall merit attention; and that all the tribes are extremely well disposed towards the French.

Que les partis de guerre qui ont été sur les Scioux, n'étoient point encore revenus et qu'il empêcheroit tous ceux qui auroient dessein de fraper sur eux.

Le R[évérend] P[ère] Du Jaunay qui est au poste de Missilimakinac, m'a écrit le 11. Juillet dernier, qu'il souhaiteroit qu'on le nommât Missionnaire des Mantannes, peuples sédentaires qu'on a trouvé à plus de cent lieues du fort la Reine, bâty l'automne dernière par le S[ieur] de la Verendrye, qu'il y a grande aparence que notre Religion jetteroit de profondes racines chez ces Nations, du caractère dont on les dépeint, qu'ils sont sept villages, dont le moindre est de 1500. âmes, et que suivant le raport qui lui a été fait, les Pananas sont plus nombreux, et que les Pananis sont ensuite de ces derniers.

. . . . .

[He tells me] that the war parties which went against the Sioux had not yet returned, and that he would prevent any who meant to attack them from doing so.

The Reverend Father du Jaunay,[1] who is at the post of Michilimackinac, wrote me on the eleventh of July last that he would like to be appointed as missionary to the Mandan, a sedentary people that has been discovered over a hundred leagues from fort La Reine, built last autumn by the Sieur de la Vérendrye; that there seems to be every probability that our religion would take deep root among these tribes considering the character attributed to them; that there are seven villages, the least of which has fifteen hundred souls; and that according to the report made to him the Panana are more numerous still and that the Panani are just beyond them.

[1] Pierre du Jaunay, born at Vannes 1704, entered the Jesuit order 1723, and came to Canada 1734. He was engaged for many years in the western missions, at St. Joseph 1738 and Michilimackinac 1742–65. It does not appear that he ever went as missionary to the Mandan, or indeed that a mission was ever established among that tribe. In *The Aulneau Collection* will be found a letter by Father du Jaunay giving particulars as to the murder of Father Aulneau. He died in Quebec, February 17, 1781.

Extrait du Journal du S[ieu]r de la Verendrye.

Il raporte que le 29. Septembre 1739, un Sauvage Assiniboel avoit amené au fort la Reine, Lac des Bois, les deux françois qu'il avoit laissé chez les Mantanes pour aprendre leur langue, ils luy ont dit avoir été bien traités chez cette nation, et qu'ils avoient eu grand regret de les voir partir de chés eux.

Ils ont dit aussy, qu'au commencement de Juin, il arrive tous les ans au grand fort qui est sur le bord de la Rivière des Mantanes, plusieurs nations sauvages, qui se servent de chevaux, et viennent en commerce avec eux, qu'ils aportent des peaux passées, brodées et enjolivées de plumages, et porc épics, peintes en plusieurs couleurs, des peaux de bœufs blanches, et que les Mantanes leur donnent en échange, des bleds et fèves dont ils sont bien fournis.

Extract from Journal of La Vérendrye.[1]

He reports that on the twenty-ninth of September 1739 an Assiniboin savage had brought to fort La Reine, Lake of the Woods, the two Frenchmen whom he had left in the country of the Mandan to learn their language. They told him that they had been well treated among those people, who were very sorry to see them leave.

They said also that every year, in the beginning of June, there arrive at the great fort on the bank of the river of the Mandan, several savage tribes which use horses and carry on trade with them; that they bring dressed skins trimmed and ornamented with plumage and porcupine quills, painted in various colours, also white buffalo-skins, and that the Mandan give them in exchange grain and beans, of which they have an ample supply.

[1] Without place or date. Written in pencil on the margin of the original document '1740.'

Qu'il arriva le printems dernier, deux cent cabanes, qu'il en vient quelquefois davantage, que ces gens-la, ne sont pas tous d'une même nation, mais seulement alliées, qu'il y en a une qui disoit venir du couchant du soleil, où il y a des blancs, qui sont en villes, forts de briques et pierres blanches, qu'ayant apris qu'il y avoit des françois ches les Mantanes, ils parurent fort empressés de les voir, et demandèrent à cette nation qu'on les menât à leur village qui étoit de l'autre côté de la Rivière, les deux françois les furent voir accompagnés des Mantanes qui les conduisirent dans plusieurs cabanes, et ensuite dans celle d'un homme fort considéré de la Nation du couchant du soleil, parlant de la langue des Blancs, mais voyant qu'ils ne s'entendoient pas, il se servit de celle des Mantanes et leur dit avoir été élevé chez les Blancs dès son enfance, il est venu plusieurs fois chez les Mantanes et a fait beaucoup d'amitiés aux françois, il leur

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Last spring two hundred lodges of them came; sometimes even more come; they are not all of the same tribe but some are only allies; there is one tribe which said they came from the setting of the sun, where there are white men living in towns and in forts made of bricks and white stone. Having learnt that there were Frenchmen with the Mandan, they appeared very anxious to see them, and asked that tribe to bring them [the French] to their village, which was on the other side of the river.

The two Frenchmen went to see them accompanied by the Mandan, who took them into several lodges and afterwards into that of a man of high repute in the tribe from the setting sun, who talked the language of the white men. Seeing they did not understand it, he used the language of the Mandan, and told them that he had been brought up from childhood among whites. He came several times to the Mandan and was extremely friendly with the French.

a dit que les Blancs où il avoit été élevé, étoient gens très affables, qu'il se feroit un grand plaisir de les y mener, en les assurant qu'ils y seroient bien reçus qu'il avoit des chevaux pour les porter, et qu'on pouroit s'y rendre avant les froids, qu'il y avoit loin par raport au détour qu'il faloit faire pour éviter les gens du Serpent, Nation fort nombreuse dont la plus grande partie sont en forts, et les autres errants, occupants beaucoup de terrain, qu'ils sont ennemis des Blancs du couchant, Nation brave, et redouttée de toutes les autres nations, qu'il n'y avoit point à craindre d'en trouver sur leur chemin de celle du Serpent, à cause de la route qu'ils tenoient pour l'éviter, les françois luy répondirent qu'ils ne pouvoient accepter ses offres, ayant donné aux Mantanes tout ce qu'ils avoient, et qu'ils ne pouvoient entreprendre ce voyage sans en donner connoissance au S[ieu]r de la Verendrye.

He told them that the whites amongst whom he had been brought up were very pleasant people, and he would be very glad to take the Frenchmen to see them and could assure them of a kind reception; he had horses to carry them, and it would be possible to get there before the cold weather set in; it was a long way because of the detour to make to avoid the Snakes,[1] a very numerous people of whom the greater part live in forts, while the rest wander about, occupying a large extent of territory. They are enemies of the whites of the west, and are a brave people dreaded of all the other tribes, but there was no reason to fear encountering any of them on the way on account of the route they would follow for the purpose of avoiding them.

The Frenchmen replied that they could not accept his offer, having given all they had to the Mandan, and that, moreover, they could not undertake the journey without informing the Sieur de la Vérendrye.

[1] See footnote, page 412.

Ce chef considéré, dit aux françois, que ces gens dont il leur avoit parlé, étoient blancs comme eux, qu'ils avoient de la barbe, et prioient le grand maître de la vie dans des livres, en leur dépeignant qu'il étoient faits avec des feuilles de bled d'inde, qu'ils chantoient en tenant leurs livres dans de grandes maisons où ils s'assembloient pour la Prière, et qu'il leur nomma souvent les noms de Jésus et de Marie, en leur montrant une Croix qu'il avoit au col depuis sa naissance, il dépeignit leurs maisons faites de briques, tirant le jour par en haut, qu'il y a des plattes formes et jardins dessus, où ils font des légumes, que leurs lits sont élevés et entourés de belles étoffes, que tout est pavé et plafonné, qu'ils n'ont point l'usage des cierges et de la chandelle, qu'ils mettent seulement un grand flambeau au milieu de la place qui éclaire toute la maison.

Que leurs villes et forts sont entourés de bonnes murailles avec de grands fossés remplis d'eau, des Ponts-levis, portes

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This highly considered chief said to the French that these people of whom he had spoken were white like them, that they had beards, and that they prayed to the great Master of Life in books which they described as made of leaves of Indian corn; that they sang holding their books in great houses where they assembled for prayer. He pronounced often in talking to them the names of Jesus and Mary, and showed them a cross which he had had on his neck since his birth. He described their houses as made of bricks and getting the light from above, and said they had platforms and gardens on top in which they raise vegetables; that their beds are raised and surrounded by handsome stuffs, that they have floors and ceilings; that they do not use tapers or candles, they merely place a large torch in the middle of the court which lights the whole house.

[He said further] that their towns and forts are surrounded by good walls with wide ditches filled with water,

de fer et beaux remparts, qu'ils ont l'usage de la poudre, canons, fusils, haches et couteaux, qu'ils traitent avec les sauvages, qu'ils font toutes sortes de grains à la charue, tirée par chevaux et bœufs, élèvent toutes sortes d'animaux et ont beaucoup de chevaux, qu'ils travaillent plus en coton qu'en laine, il leur montra une couverture et une chemise de coton, bordée tout autour en soye, laine de couleur, des glands aux quatre coins, de soye, coton et laine, qu'il avoit eû de chez les Blancs, les chemises n'ont point de poignets plissés, elles sont en manches de vestes, brodées en soye, et sur les épaulettes, de coton de différentes couleurs.

Le S[ieu]r De la Verendrye fait mention que les deux francois auroient fort souhaités en pouvoir acheter pour luy en aporter, mais qu'ils n'avoient rien pour le faire, ayant donné aux Mantanes tout ce qu'ils avoient.

Les françois luy demandèrent en luy montrant une paire

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drawbridges, iron doors and fine ramparts; that they use powder, cannons, guns, axes, and knives, which they sell to the savages; that they produce all kinds of grain, ploughing their land with horses and oxen, raise all kinds of animals and have a great many horses; that they work more in cotton than in wool. He showed them a quilt and a shirt of cotton, [the former] embroidered on the edges with silk, coloured wool, and having tassels on the four corners made of silk, cotton and wool, which he had got from the whites. The shirts are not pleated at the wrists; they have coat sleeves embroidered in silk, and on the shoulders cotton of different colours.

The Sieur de la Vérendrye mentions that the two Frenchmen would have greatly desired to be able to buy some of these articles to bring to him, but they had nothing to do it with, having parted with all that they had to the Mandan.

The Frenchmen showed the chief a pair of our shoes

de nos souliers, si ces Blancs dont il parloit en portoient de même, il leur fit réponse qu'il n'y avoit que la semelle de semblable et qu'au lieu d'empeignes, ils étoient attachés par des courroyes, qu'ils ont l'usage des chapeaux bien plus épais que les nôtres, qu'ils ont à leurs culottes des cordons qui leur servent de jarretières.

Que les femmes y sont fort blanches et belles, coiffées en cheveux, des pendants d'oreilles de pierres brillantes, des bracelets et colliers d'un jaune bien clair, que par démonstration il leur fît voir qu'elles jouoient du clavessin et de la basse de viole.

Que ces Blancs sont souvent en guerre avec les gens du Serpent, qu'ils marchent en corps de troupes, et que leurs cuirasses sont de fer maillé, il leur montra des brides de chevaux dont le mors et la gourmette sont d'une pièce, les branches fort longues, le tout bien poly, leurs selles et étriers sont de même que les nôtres, et qu'ils se servent de pistolets et housses.

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and asked him if those whites of whom he spoke had similar ones. He replied that only the soles were similar, and that these were attached by straps instead of uppers; that they wore much thicker hats than we do, and that they have cords on their breeches which serve them as garters.

The women, he said, are very white and handsome, wearing their hair in a coil and ear-rings of brilliant stones, with bracelets and collars of a very light yellow; and by imitating the movements he showed them that they played the harpsichord and the bass viol.

He added that these whites are often at war with the Snake tribe, that they march in column and that their cuirasses are made of iron net. He showed them bridles of which the bit and the curb are of one piece with very long 'branches' the whole finely polished. Their saddles and stirrups were the same as ours, and they use pistols and saddle-cloths.

Que les villes sont proches du grand Lac, où l'eau monte et baisse, et qu'elle n'est pas bonne à boire, que cet endroit est un pais de montagnes fort hautes, qu'il y a des hommes noirs qui ont de la barbe, et qui travaillent le fer, qu'avant d'arriver chés les Blancs, il faut passer chés les Noirs, qu'il n'y a point à craindre de jeûner dans le chemin, y ayant des bêtes partout de toute espèce, surtout du bœuf et du cerf.

Que ce chef s'informa à nos françois, de notre manière de vivre, et qu'après luy en avoir fait le détail, il en parût étonné, il les assura que s'il pouvoit avoir le plaisir de mener des françois chez les Blancs, qu'il vouloit revenir avec eux, pour voir notre Pais.

Ces françois ont raportés au S[ieu]r De la Verendrye que ces nations éloignées ont resté plus d'un mois chés les Mantanes, qu'ils alloient souvent les voir, et qu'à chaque fois il y avoit de grandes réjouissances de part et d'autres.

The towns, he said, are near the great Lake the water of which rises and falls and is not good to drink; the country is one of very high mountains, and there are black men there who have beards and who work in iron; before reaching the whites you have to pass through the country of the blacks; and there is no fear of starving on the way, as animals of every kind are to be found everywhere, particularly cattle and deer.

The chief enquired of our men as to our manner of living, and when he got the particulars appeared much astonished; he told them that, if he could have the pleasure of taking some Frenchmen to the country of the whites, he would like to come back with them to see our country.

Those Frenchmen reported to the Sieur de la Vérendrye that those tribes from a distance remained over a month with the Mandan, that they often visited them, and that, whenever they did, there was great rejoicing on both sides.

Le S[ieu]r de la Verendrye ajoute qu'il a donné ordre à un de ses fils d'aller chés les Mantanes avec quatre hommes et un interprette françois, qu'il luy a fourny tout ce qui pouroit luy être nécessaire tant pour leur subsistance que pour faire la découverte dont il est chargé.

LAVERENDRYE.

A M. le M[arqu]is de Beauharnois.

A V[ersaill]es le 2 May 1740.

M.

J'ay receu les lettres que vous m'avés ecrites le 30 8^{bre}. de l'année d[ernie]re, et j'en ay rendu compte au Roy. . . .

Par l'extrait que vous m'avés envoyé du journal du S^{r} De La Verandrye il paroit qu'il a fait quelques progrez dans la decouverte, et qu'il se trouvoit a portée d'en faire d'autres. La façon dont il dit qu'il a esté receu des Mantanes doit

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The Sieur de la Vérendrye adds that he has ordered one of his sons to go with four men and a French interpreter to the country of the Mandan, and that he has furnished him with everything necessary for their subsistence and for pursuing the discovery which he is commissioned to make.

Maurepas to Beauharnois.

Versailles, May 2, 1740.

Monsieur,

I have received the letters which you wrote me on the 30th of October last and communicated them to the King.

By the extract you have sent me from the journal of the Sieur de la Vérendrye he seems to have made some progress in exploration and to be in a fair way of making more. The manner in which he reports that he was received by the

fait esperer que cette nation pourra luy estre d'un grand secours pour cela ; surtout si le raport qui luy a esté fait par le fils d'un des chefs par raport aux Pananas et aux Pananis est sincere ; Mais il ne faut pas trop compter sur des details de cette espece. Quoy qu'il en soit, le party qu'a pris Le S[r] De La Verandrye de laisser 2 fr[ançois] chez les Mantanes pour aprendre la langue de cette Nation pourra le mettre en estat, si ces deux fr[ançois] reüssissent, de pousser les courses plus loin et avec plus de facilité ; Et quand une fois il sera parvenu aux Pananis et qu'il aura pû bien reconnoitre la R[iviere] dont il est fait mention dans sa relation et dont on luy a dit que l'Eau est sallée, il est a croire qu'il pourra y prendre des connoissances plus certaines sur son objet. J'attendray que vous m'informiés de ce que vous en aprendrés ; mais je vous prie de luy recommander encore par la p[remie]re occasion que vous en aurés d'estre attentif a ne pas donner trop d'esperances sur le succez de son Entreprises, et de

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Mandan justifies the hope that he may be greatly assisted by that tribe ; particularly if the report made to him by the son of one of the chiefs in regard to the Panana and the Panani is truthful ; but we must not count too much on details of that nature.

In any case the plan adopted by the Sieur de la Vérendrye of leaving two Frenchmen with the Mandan to learn their language may enable him, if these two men succeed, to push his travels further and with greater facility. And when once he has reached the Panani, and has been able to identify the river mentioned in the narration, the water of which, he was told, is salt, we may trust that he will be able to obtain more certain information as to his main object. I shall await such information as you may obtain, but I beg that you will take the first opportunity to enjoin upon him not to create too strong hopes as to the success of his enterprise, but to

rendre les choses telles qu'elles seront, afin qu'on puissent en juger en connoiss[an]ce de cause.

Je suis p[ar]f[aitement] M.

A M. le M[arqu]is de Beauharnois.

A Marly le 26 Avril 1741.

M.

J'ay receu les lettres que vous m'avés ecrites les 8, 9 et 20 8^{bre} de l'année d[ernie]re. . . . . .

Je ne sçais si le S^{r} De Laverendrye sera plus jaloux de tenir la d[ernie]re parole qu'il vous a donnée pour la poursuite de sa decouverte, qu'il ne paroit l'avoir esté jusqu'a present de satisf[air]e a ce qu'il avoit annoncé. A juger cepend[an]t de cette entreprise sur la relation du d[erni]er journal que vous m'avés envoyé, on devroit s'attendre a tirer des ecclaircissemens assez interessans du voyage que le fils de cet

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report things as they are, so that we may be able to judge of them on true information.

I am, etc.

Maurepas to Beauharnois.

Marly, April 26, 1741.

Monsieur,

I received the letters you wrote me on the 8th, 9th, and 20th of October of last year. . . .

I do not know whether the Sieur de la Vérendrye will be more particular about keeping his last promise to you as to the carrying on of his exploration than he appears to have been up to the present in making good his previous engagements. Judging, however, of the enterprise by the statements made in the last Journal you have sent me, we might expect to obtain some enlightenment of an interesting kind from the visit which the son of that officer was to have made

off[ici]er a deû f[air]e chez les Mantanes ; et c'est ce que je souhaite de voir dans le compte que vous aurés agreable de me rendre de ce qui vous en reviendra. . . .

[*Lettre de Monsieur le Marquis de Beauharnois*]
[à Québec le 12 May 1741.]

Monseigneur,

. . . . . .

Je feray partir à mon arrivée le S[ieur] De la Verendrye pour se rendre à son Poste et continuer la découverte dont il est chargé, le P[ère] Coquart Jésuite doit l'y acompagner, il m'a assuré que toutes ses affaires étoient bien rangées, et qu'il ne descendroit plus, sans auparavant avoir pénétré dans

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to the Mandan ; and that is what I desire to find in the report that you will have the kindness to make to me concerning the information you receive.

Beauharnois to Maurepas.

Quebec, May 12, 1741.

Monseigneur,

. . . . .

On my arrival I will despatch the Sieur de la Vérendrye to his post to continue the discovery which he is instructed to make.[1] Father Coquart,[2] Jesuit, is to accompany him. He assures me that all his arrangements are made and that he will not come down again without having penetrated into

[1] La Vérendrye had again gone down to Montreal, presumably to persuade the restive merchants to continue their financial support. In a later memoir of Beauharnois to the minister, 1741, he says : ' Monsieur de la Verandière wrote me on August 7, 1741, that his children had written him that all was quiet in the posts.' This letter of August 7, 1741, is missing.

[2] Claude Godefroy Coquart, born in France 1706, entered the Jesuit order 1726, and came to Canada 1738. After serving for a time at Mackinac, and accompanying La Vérendrye to fort La Reine, he returned to Canada and, 1746–57, was connected with the Saguenay mission. His latter years were spent in Quebec, Acadia, and again in the Saguenay country. He died at Chicoutimi, 1765.

l'endroit le plus éloigné qu'il poura trouver, trouvés bon s'il vous plaît, Monseigneur, que je vous suplie de luy accorder la compagnie du S[ieur] de la Ronde.

. . . . . .

[*Lettre de Monsieur de la Verenderie*]
[du fort de la Reine Rivière des Assiniboels ce 12 May 1742.]

Monseigneur,

La découverte ne s'est pas fait l'année dernière faute de guide j'espère l'année prochainne faire conoître à Vostre Grandeur que je n'ay rien de plus à cœur, que de me trouver en éstat de rendre un conte exatte, de cette nation de blanc policée, qui sont dens le ouest, de cest pais ici, sur le bord de la mer, ne pouvent y aler moy mesme, par rapord à la guerre qui est fort animez, entre nos nation d'ici, et les Siouxs.

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the most distant place he can find. Permit me, Monseigneur, to beg that you will allow him to have the [military] company of Sieur de la Ronde.[1]

La Vérendrye to Maurepas.

Fort La Reine, River of the Assiniboin,
May 12, 1742.

Monseigneur,

The discovery was not made last year for lack of a guide. I hope next year to convince Your Highness that I have nothing more at heart than to find myself able to render an exact account of that civilized white nation living to the west of this country on the shore of the sea, not being able to go myself on account of the war which is being carried on very vigorously between our tribes here and the Sioux.

[1] Louis-Philippe Denys, Sieur de la Ronde, born 1714, son of Louis Denys, Sieur de la Ronde, succeeded his father in command of the post at Chequamegon in 1742. For particulars as to both father and son, see *Wis. Hist. Coll.* vol. xvii.

J'ay envoyez deux de mes enfents, qui sont bien aux fait de la manièrre, et des lengues sauvages, j'ay lieux despérer de la rehusite, nayant rien epargnez, de tout ce qu'il leurs pouvoit estre hutille pour un telle voyage, ordre et emple instruction, doive prendre prise de posession, aux nom du Roy, si c'est un peais inconnu jusque à présent, la joy et le grand zel avec lequel ils sont party, m'en donne avec l'aide Dieu bonne espérance, j'espère recevoir, cette otonne de leurs nouvelles, j'envois unne couverte de coton brodez, avec quelque canon, de pourceleinne, de la fason de cest blanc, à Monsieur le Marquis de Beauharnois, nostre Général que mon fils énée at aportéz de chez les Montannes, l'otonne pasée, et cera sendoute envoyez à Vostre Grandeur pour en faire examinée louvrage.

La porceleinne est fort en husage, chez cest gens là, j'ay establie un fort nouveaux à la solicitation, des Crixs de

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I have sent two of my sons who are well versed in the manners and languages of the savages, and have reason to hope for their success, having spared nothing which could be useful to them for such a journey, including orders and ample instructions. They are to take possession in the name of the King, if it is a country hitherto unknown. The joy and great zeal with which they set out give me, in reliance on the help of God, good hope. I hope to receive news of them this autumn.

I am sending a coverlet of embroidered cotton with some porcelain mugs of the manufacture of those whites to the Marquis de Beauharnois, our General, which my elder son brought from the country of the Mandan last autumn, and these will no doubt be sent to Your Highness in order that you may have the work examined. Porcelain is much used among those people.

I established a new fort at the request of the mountain

montagne dans le lac des préries, l'otonne pasée nomée le fort Dauphin.

Dens l'incertitude où je suy de savoir si Vostre Grandeur, a bien voulut avoir quelque égar, à mes blesures, et quarantes année de cervice, pour mon avencement, et celluy de mes enfents.

Je suy avec un très profont respects, Monseigneur
Vostre très humble et très obéissant serviteur

LAVERENDRYE.

Du fort de La Reine rivierre des assilibouene
ce 12 de may 1742.

Cree on the Lake of the Prairies last autumn, and named it fort Dauphin.[1]

In the uncertainty in which I am as to whether Your Highness has seen fit to have some regard to my wounds and my forty years of service as a ground for my advancement and that of my sons,

I am, with very profound respect, Monseigneur,
Your very humble and very obedient Servant,

LA VÉRENDRYE.

[1] Described by Bougainville, in his memoir of 1757, as eighty leagues from fort La Reine, and situated on the River *Minanghenachequeké* or Troubled Water. The post is shown on the 1750 map, apparently at the mouth of Red Deer river, north-west side of Lake Winnipegosis. Judge Prud'homme, in his paper on La Vérendrye (*R.S.C. Trans.* 1905), says: 'Le fort Dauphin fut fondé à l'automne 1741 sur la pointe Nord-Ouest du lac Dauphin.' He also identifies the Red Deer post as fort Bourbon, or rather the earlier of two posts of that name. Alexander Henry, in his *Travels*, mentions that Peter Pond wintered at fort Dauphin, 1775–76, and Pond's map shows the fort on the north-west side of Lake Dauphin. Harmon also speaks of the place as one where a French missionary had been stationed, before the cession of Canada. Mackenzie also, in his *General History of the Fur Trade*, mentions fort Dauphin, 'which was established by the French before the conquest,' and which was continued by the British traders under the same name. Fort Dauphin was built in 1741 near the mouth of a little stream now known as Mossy river, which discharges the waters of Dauphin lake into Lake Winnipegosis. The site, says J. B. Tyrrell, was probably in the present town of Winnipegosis. The name Lake of the Prairies seems to have been applied to both Winnipegosis and Manitoba lakes.

Sept. 24, 1742.

Monseigneur,

J'ay reçu la lettre que vous m'avés fait l'honneur de m'Ecrire le 15 Avril d^er^.

. . . . .

Je n'ay point, Monseigneur, Encore eû de nouvelles du S. de la Verendrye, ce qui me fait penser qu'il aura suivi sa découverte, le Pere Coquart qui a hyverné a Kamanistigouia, m'a Ecrit le 26. May d^er^. que Lacolle Monsonis Chef de guerre du Lac de la Pluye, avoit formé au mois de Septembre un party de plus de 200 hommes, dont la pluspart Etoient Cristinaux et Assiniboëls, qu'ils ont eté Surprendre les Scioux des Prairies, que 70 Guerriers de cette Nation sont restés sur la place sans compter les femmes et les Enfans, et

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Beauharnois to Maurepas.[1]

Quebec, September 24, 1742.

Monseigneur,

I have received the letter which you did me the honour of writing on the 15th of April last.

. . . . .

I have not, Monseigneur, received any news as yet of the Sieur de la Vérendrye, which leads me to think that he has followed up his discovery. Father Coquart, who has passed the winter at Kaministikwia, wrote me on May 26th last that La Colle, Monsoni war-chief of Rainy lake, had formed in September a party of more than two hundred men, the majority of whom were Cree and Assiniboin ; that they had attacked the Sioux of the Prairies, that seventy warriors of that tribe were killed, without counting the women and

[1] By permission the translation of this letter is taken, with slight alterations, from *Wis. Hist. Coll.* xvii. 417–18.

que le nombre des Esclaves Etoit si grand que suivant le raport et l'Expression des Sauvages, ils occûpoient dans leur marche un terrein de quatre arpens, que le party de Lacolle n'avoit perdû que six hommes et qu'il y avoit beaucoup de Blessés, qu'ils se sont battûs pendant quatre jours, il ajoute que le S. de la Verendrye a fait tout ce qu'il a pû pour l'arrêter, et que les présens et les representations n'avoient fait aucune impression sur l'Esprit de ce Chef, que cette deffaite n'acommodera pas les affaires du S. de la Verendrye qui fera plus d'Esclaves que de paquets, que les Sauvages commencoient a remüer de Nouveau et qu'ils avoient deja chanté la guerre, toutes ces circonstances ne s'accorderont pas avec les arrangemens que Sa Majesté nous prescrit de Suivre par une dépêche commune, au surplus, Monseigneur, nous verrons M. Hocquart et moy le party qu'il conviendra prendre pour le bien du service et concilier toutes choses.

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children; and that the number of slaves was so great that, according to the report and the expression of the savages, they occupied in their march more than four arpents; that the band of La Colle had lost only six men; and that there were many wounded, as they had fought during four days.

He added that the Sieur de la Vérendrye did everything he could to prevent this fight, but that presents and arguments had made no impression on the mind of this chief. He says that this defeat will not facilitate matters for the Sieur de la Vérendrye; that there will be more slaves than packages; that the savages were beginning to stir again, and that they had already sung the war song. All these circumstances are not easy to reconcile with the arrangements which His Majesty prescribes for us to follow, in a circular letter. However, Monseigneur, Monsieur Hocquart and I will consider what decision is to be taken for the good of the service and for the furtherance of everything.

Lettre de Monsieur le Marquis de Beauharnois,
à Québec le 12 Octobre 1742.

Monseigneur

Depuis les lettres que j'ay eû l'honneur de vous écrire par le Vaisseau du Roy Le Rubis au sujet des postes des pais d'en haut et des pourparlers que j'ay eû cet été avec les différentes nations qui sont descendues à Montréal, j'en viens de recevoir de Missilimakinac, de la Baye, de Kamanistigouia, du fort La Reine Lac des Bois, des Miamis, Ouyatanous, d'Ouabache, et du fort de Chartres dont je vais avoir l'honneur de vous rendre compte.

Le S[ieur] de Verchères me marque le 9 Septembre dernier qu'il a fait payer au S[ieur] Lamarque et Compagnie les 56 paquets que le S[ieur] de la Verendrye devoit à leur société, et qu'il en a fait remettre 24 autres au S[ieur] Legras pour les marchandises que cette Société avoit laissé dans les

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Beauharnois to Maurepas.

Quebec, October 12, 1742.

Monseigneur,

Since sending off the letters which I had the honour to write you by the King's Ship 'Le Rubis' on the subject of the posts in the upper countries and of the interviews I have had this summer with the different tribes that have come down to Montreal, I have received advices from Michilimackinac, from La Baye, from Kaministikwia, from fort La Reine on the Lake of the Woods, from the Miamis and Ouyatanons, from Ouabache, and from fort Chartres, of which I am about to have the honour of giving you an account.

The Sieur de Verchères notes on the ninth of September last that he had Sieur Lamarque and Company paid for the fifty-six bales owed by the Sieur de la Vérendrye to the Company, and that he has sent twenty-four more to the Sieur Legras in return for the goods left by that Company

postes de l'Ouest, ainsy, Monseigneur, cette affaire s'est consommée en vertue de l'ordre que j'ay donné dont j'ay eu l'honneur de vous envoyer copie.

Le Père Coquart revenant du Poste de Kamanistigouya m'écrit du 9. du mois passé que les gens du S[ieur] de la Verendrye étant au grand portage, les Sauteux de ce Poste y sont venûs pour y tenir conseil avec un chef sauvage de cet endroit qui a beaucoup de crédit, que le Printems dernier ce chef luy dit qu'il étoit déterminé à faire coup sur les Scioux qu'il luy avoit fait plusieurs représentations, en leur disant que c'étoit aller directement contre mes ordres, que le résultat des différens conseils qui s'étoient tenus, étoit que les Sauteux de la Pointe de Chag8amigon (qui sont

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in the western posts. Thus, Monseigneur, this matter has been settled by authority of the order which I made, a copy of which I had the honour to transmit to you.

Father Coquart, returning from the post of Kaministikwia, writes to me on the ninth of last month that the Sieur de la Vérendrye's men being at the Grand Portage, the Saulteur of that post came to hold council with an Indian chief of that place who possesses much influence; that this chief told him last spring that it was intended to make a descent on the Sioux, and that he [Father Coquart] had represented to them several times that this was going directly contrary to my orders; that the result, nevertheless, of the different councils held was that the Saulteur of point Chagouamigon [1]

[1] Chequamegon. French post on the south shore of Lake Superior. A military post was established there by St. Pierre and Linctot in 1718. As a Jesuit missionary station it dated back to about 1662, when Allouez was in charge. Marquette followed him in 1669. Radisson had wintered there in 1660, and the trading establishment dates from about this year. A number of Ottawas and Hurons had settled there, fleeing from the Iroquois. The mission was abandoned in 1671. A small French village afterward grew up about the military fort, but was abandoned about the close of the French régime. A British trading post was established after the conquest, and eventually the trade was taken over by American interests.

descendus cet été à Montréal pour confirmer la paix qu'ils avoient faite avec les Scioux), devoient les amuser une partie de l'hyver en vivant avec eux en bonne intelligence, que les Scioux croyants être en paix et ne se méfiants de rien se verront tout à coup les ennemis sur les bras ; Que ce chef avec les gens de Népigon, Kamanistigouia, Tekamam8iouen, Monsonis, Cristinaux et Assiniboels, doivent tomber dessus et en faire le plus grand carnage qu'ils pouront, qu'ils sont absolument résolus à les détruire malgré tout ce qu'on poura faire pour les en empêcher, que ce chef est un homme de résolution et dont l'intrépidité fait impression sur les autres, qu'il luy avoit dit le printemps dernier que les Sçioux n'étoient bons qu'à manger, et qu'il vouloit pour sa part en tüer assés pour nourrir son village.

Le S[ieur] de la Verendrye m'écrit les 2. et 12. May dernier, qu'il s'est rendû au fort de la Reine le 13. Octobre

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[who went down this summer to Montreal to confirm the peace which they had made with the Sioux] were to amuse them during part of the winter by living on good terms with them, so that the Sioux, considering themselves to be at peace and having no suspicion, shall all of a sudden find their enemies on their hands.

The chief in question, with the tribes from Nipigon, Kaministikwia, Tecamamiouen, the Monsoni, Cree, and Assiniboin, are to fall on them and create all the carnage they can ; they are absolutely resolved to destroy them in spite of all that can be done to prevent them. This chief, he states, is a man of resolution whose intrepidity makes an impression on others ; he had told him last spring that the Sioux were only good to eat, and that he wanted, for his part, to kill enough of them to feed his village.

The Sieur de la Vérendrye writes to me under date the second and the twelfth of May last that he went to fort La

de l'année dernière, qu'il a trouvé en passant à Tekamamiouen les sauvages qui chantoient la guerre en l'attendant pour aller fraper sur les Scioux, qu'à son arrivée au Lac des Bois, il avoit trouvé un grand nombre de Monsonis et Cristinaux qui s'étoient rassemblés pour le même sujet, qu'ils luy dirent qu'il ne fût pas surpris de ce qu'ils alloient fraper sur les Sçioux et que toutes les nations des terres avoient parole pour se trouver au rendés-vous dans les Prairies au mois de Décembre dernier, qu'ils pensoient qu'il ne s'oposeroit point à leur dessein, allant vanger le sang françois et leurs chefs qui avoient été tués ; qu'il leur répondit qu'il étoit surpris de ce violent party contraire à la parole qu'ils luy avoient donnée de ne rien entreprendre pour la guerre que selon ma volonté, d'autant que j'étois dans les dispositions de pardonner aux Sçioux suivant la prière qu'ils m'en avoient faite et fait faire, que ce seroit brouiller la terre de

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Reine on the thirteenth of October of last year, and that, as he passed Tecamamiouen, he found the savages singing their war song while waiting for him, in order that they might go and attack the Sioux. On arriving at the Lake of the Woods he found a large number of Monsoni and Cree who had assembled for the same purpose ; they told him not to be surprised that they were about to strike at the Sioux, as all the tribes in the country had pledged one another to be at the rendezvous in the prairies in the month of December last, and they did not think that he would oppose their project as it was French blood they were going to avenge and their leaders who had been slain.

He replied that he was surprised at this violent course contrary to the promise they had given him not to undertake anything in the way of war except in accordance with his wish, inasmuch as I was disposed to pardon the Sioux in accordance with the prayer made directly and through others ;

nouveau et barrer le chemin des françois, et enfin qu'ayant le fils d'un de leur grand chef esclave chés cette nation, que le S[ieur] Marin luy avoit promis de racheter, ce ne seroit pas le moyen de le retirer s'ils alloient fraper sur eux ; Malgré toutes ces représentations auxquelles il joignit des présens, il n'a pû parvenir à les empêcher de faire le coup dont j'ay eû l'honneur de vous rendre compte, et qui suivant ce que me marque cet officier animera cette guerre par la perte qu'ils ont faite de deux chefs considérés, qu'ils avoient dessein de fraper aussi sur les Scioux des Bois et que passant sur toutes considérations rien ne pouvoit les arrêter ayant dit que leurs souliers étoient faits pour exécuter leur projet.

Après le compte que cet officier me rend sur les mouvemens de guerre des sauvages de ces cantons il me marque qu'à son arrivée au fort La Reine, il y a trouvé son fils aîné

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that it would mean embroiling the country anew and barring the road to the French ; and finally that as the son of one of their great chiefs was a slave with that nation, and as the Sieur Marin had promised to redeem him, they were going the wrong way about it to get him back if they were now going to strike at them.

Notwithstanding all these representations which he accompanied with presents, he could not succeed in preventing them from dealing the blow of which I have had the honour of rendering you an account, and which according to what that officer tells me will render this war more bitter owing to the loss they have sustained of two highly considered chiefs. They intended also to strike at the Sioux of the Woods, and no considerations had any power to arrest them as they were saying that their shoes were made for executing their plans.

After giving me an account of the warlike movements of the savages of these districts, the officer in question tells me that on his arrival at fort La Reine he found his eldest

de retour de chés les Mantannes, occasionné par le deffaut de guide pour aller plus loin, que les gens qui devoient luy en servir ont manqué de venir dans cet endroit comme ils ont coutume, et que c'est la Nation qui va presque tous les ans chés celle qui est à la Mer du Couchant, que son fils les avoit attendu près de deux mois, et qu'ayant apris qu'ils avoient relaché et qu'ils devoient revenir au commencement du Printems, il s'en étoit revenu et avoit amené avec luy deux chevaux, il a aussi aporte de chés les Mantannes une couverture de cotton brodée et quatre petits tuyaux qu'il dit etre de la Porcelaine qui est fort en usage chés les gens de la Mer, que j'ay l'honneur de vous envoyer. Sur le raport que son fils aîné luy a fait et dont je viens d'avoir l'honneur de vous rendre compte, il l'a renvoyé chez les Mantannes

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son there, he having returned from the Mandan owing to being unable to obtain a guide to go further, the people who were to have served him having failed to come to the place as they are accustomed to do. These people belong to the tribe which goes nearly every year to the one at the Western Sea.

His son waited nearly two months for them, and, having learnt that they had stopped on the way and were to return on the opening of spring, he had himself returned and brought with him two horses [1]; he also brought from the Mandan country a coverlet of embroidered cotton and four little tubes [beads] which he says are of porcelain, an article much used among the people of the Sea, and which I have the honour to send you. On the strength of the report made to him by his eldest son, of which I have just had the honour of giving you an account, he sent him back to the

[1] This is the first mention of the explorers actually seeing horses in the west. Evidently the two horses referred to were obtained by young La Vérendrye at the Mandan village, but came from the far western tribe who visited the Mandan. This, no doubt, was also the source of the embroidered cotton coverlet and porcelain pipes.

avec un de ses frères et deux françois, dont l'un peut servir d'interprette chés ces sauvages, ils sont partis à ce qu'il me marque le 29. avril dernier et doivent suivre la découverte, et par la diligence qu'ils comptent faire être a portée à ce que le S[ieur] de la Verendrye m'assure de m'en donner des éclaircissemens certains l'année prochaine, Il ajoute qu'il n'a pas pû laisser son Poste pour y aller luy-même à cause de la guerre qui se chante dans tous les villages, qu'il fera tous ses efforts pour arrêter les sauvages, mais qu'il ne se peut flater de pouvoir parvenir à tranquiliser nombre d'esprits turbulents et féroces, ce sont ces mêmes considérations qui l'ont arrêté l'hyver dernier, et quoy qu'il n'ait pas réussi dans ces négociations, je ne puis le blâmer, Monseigneur, de s'y être livré comme il a fait, et de n'avoir pas perdu cet objet de veüe dans le nouveau projet que ces Nations ont formé de retourner sur les Sçioux des deux endroits. Il

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Mandan with one of his brothers and two Frenchmen, one of whom can serve as an interpreter among those savages. They left, as he tells me, on the twenty-ninth of April last and are to pursue the discovery and, owing to the expedition with which they expect to do it, they should be in a position, the Sieur de la Vérendrye assures me, to give me reliable intelligence of it next year.

He adds that he has not been able to leave his post to go himself on account of the war, which is being sung in all the villages. He will make every effort to stop the savages, but has little hope of succeeding in calming a number of ferocious and turbulent spirits. The same considerations stood in his way last winter and, though he has not succeeded in these negotiations, I cannot, Monseigneur, blame him for having attempted them as he has done, and for not having lost sight of this object in the new project which those tribes have formed of renewing the attack on the Sioux

m'écrit au surplus qu'aussitôt qu'il trouvera jour à pouvoir s'absenter qui poura être cet automne, il ira chés les Mantannes où il compte recevoir des nouvelles de ses deux fils.

. . . . . .

BEAUHARNOIS.

A Quebec le 12
octobre 1742.

(Le gouverneur conclut ses considérations sur les différents postes en demandant au ministre la permission de faire la guerre aux sauvages.)

A Mrs. de Beauharnois et Hocquart.

a f[ontaineble]au le 17 Avril 1742.

Ms.

Depuis que le Sr De La veranderie a entrepris de faire la decouverte de la mer de l'ouest par les Terres, M. le M[arqu]is de Beauharnois m'a envoyé plusieurs journeaux

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of the two places. He writes me also that as soon as he can see his way to absenting himself, which may be this autumn, he will go to the country of the Mandan, where he counts on receiving news of his two sons.

. . . . . .

BEAUHARNOIS.

(The Governor concludes his considerations on the different posts by asking the minister's permission to make war on the savages.)

Maurepas to Beauharnois and Hocquart.

Fontainebleau, April 17, 1742.

Messieurs,

Since the Sieur de la Vérendrye undertook an overland journey to discover the Western Sea, the Marquis de Beauharnois has forwarded to me several journals sent to him by

que cet Off[ici]er lui a remis des progrés de son entreprise. Mais si d'un costé les details qu'ils contiennent donnent lieu d'esperer qu'elle pourra ne pas estre sans succés, ils servent aussi a faire connoitre qu'il est necessaire de donner au Sr De La veranderie du secours pour la suivre. Il a parü qu'il pourroit convenir pour cet effet de lui joindre un off[ici]er qui par ses Talens fut capable d'y concourir ; Et cet arrangement est mesme d'autant plus convenable, qu'il est d'ailleurs important d'elever dans la Colonie des off[ici]ers qui par leur conduite et les connoissances qu'ils pourront prendre des mœurs des nations avec lesquelles le Sr De La Veranderie a formé des liaisons puissent servir dans la suite à les gouverner. Par les temoignages qui m'ont jusqu'a present esté rendus du Sr Demuy Lieutenant il paroit qu'il pourroit estre plus propre qu'un autre a la destination dont il s'agit. S.M. s'en raporte cependant au choix que M. le M[arqu]is de Beauharnois jugera a propos de faire pour cela, persuadée

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that officer, relating to the progress of his enterprise. If, on the one hand, the details which they contain give some reason to hope for his success, they show also that it is necessary to give him some help towards pursuing his object. For this purpose it has seemed to me that it might be suitable to associate with him an officer who, by his talents, might be qualified to assist in the enterprise. An arrangement of this kind is all the more suitable on account of the importance of training in the colony officers who, by their conduct and through the knowledge they may acquire of the habits of the tribes with whom the Sieur de la Vérendrye has established relations, may later render service in governing them.

From the testimony I have received, up to the present, in regard to the Sieur de Muy, Lieutenant, it would appear that he has special qualifications for the position referred to. His Majesty, however, leaves the choice in the hands of the Marquis de Beauharnois, feeling persuaded that he will be

que le bien du service et celui de la decouverte en question seront les seules considerations qui le determineront pour ce choix. Peut estre conviendroit il aussi de donner la mesme destination a quelqu'autre Officier ou Cadet des troupes, a la place d'un des enfans du Sr De La Veranderie qu'il est a propos de ne pas laisser toujours dans les Postes ou ils servent ; mais c'est sur quoi S.M. s'en raporte encore a M. le M[arqu]is de Beauharnois.

Cependant comme il n'est pas juste que le Sr Demuy ou celui qui sera choisi a sa place suive cette destination sans en retirer quelqu'avantage, l'Intention de S.M. est qu'indepandam[men]t du transport des effets qui pourront lui estre necessaires pour sa subsistance et dont le Sr De La Veranderie doit estre chargé, il lui soit encore donné une recompense convenable par cet off[ici]er sur le produit de la traite des Postes qu'il a etablis et pour laquelle S.M. veut

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guided in the matter solely by the interests of the service and the promotion of the discovery in question. It might also be desirable to employ in a similar capacity some other military officer or cadet, in place of one of the sons of the Sieur de la Vérendrye, who ought not to be left permanently in the posts where they are serving ; but again the matter is one in regard to which His Majesty relies on the judgment of the Marquis de Beauharnois.

As, however, it would not be just that the Sieur de Muy, or whoever may be selected instead of him, should be employed in the way proposed without some compensation, it is His Majesty's intention that, in addition to the transport of material necessary for his use and subsistence, for which the Sieur de la Vérendrye must provide, he shall also receive a suitable salary from that officer out of the proceeds of the trade carried on at the posts, for which purpose His Majesty desires him [La Vérendrye] to pay annually a sum

qu'il paye d'ailleurs une so[mm]e de 3000[ll] par an entre les mains de M. le M[arqu]is de Beauharnois. J'attendrai que vous m'informiés de l'ex[ecuti]on de cet arrangement. . . .

A M. le Marquis de Beauharnois,

A Versailles le 20 Avril 1742.

M.

J'ai receu les Lettres que vous m'avés ecrites les 12 may, 1, 5, 6, 7, 16, 18 et 28 octobre de l'année derniere.

. . . . . .

Je vous ay expliqué plusieurs fois les Soupçons que j'ai conçus de la conduite qu'a tenüe jusqu'a present le Sr De La veranderie par raport a la decouverte dont il est chargé. Comme d'un autre costé les differens details qu'il a faits des progrés de l'entreprise ne scauroient mettre a portée de juger de ce qu'on peut attendre, il a esté necessaire de prendre des arrangemens pour pouvoir sçavoir a quoi l'on doit s'en tenir

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of 3000 livres into the hands of the Marquis de Beauharnois. I shall await information from you of the carrying out of this arrangement.

Maurepas to Beauharnois.

Versailles, April 20, 1742.

Monsieur,

I received the letters you wrote me on the 12th of May and the 1st, 5th, 6th, 7th, 16th, 18th and 28th of October of last year.

. . . . . .

I have several times explained to you the suspicions I have formed as to the course the Sieur de la Vérendrye has followed up to the present in regard to the exploration with which he is entrusted. As, moreover, the details he has given of the progress of the enterprise give no idea of what result we may expect, it has been necessary to take measures

a cet Egard ; Et vous verrés par la depêche commune que je vous ecris sur cette matiere a vous et a M. Hocquart en quoi consistent ces arrangemens et qu'elles sont les intentions de S.M. vous aurés agreable de vous y conformer. . . .

Canada.

[*Memoire*] *Messieurs de Beauharnois et Hocquart.*

29 Octobre 1743.

Par une lettre que le S[ieur] de la Verendrye a écrite le 4. May der[nier] à M[onsieur] de Beauharnois, il a mandé que ses fils luy avoient marqué au mois de Juillet 1742 que la nation qu'ils nomment les gens de Chevaux n'étoit point encore préparée ; mais que pour eux ils étoient résolus de périr plustôt que de relâcher ; qu'ils s'étoient assurés de deux guides de la Nation établie chez les Mantannes pour les conduire à la Mer, accompagnés de six de ces derniers sauvages ; et qu'ils ne pourroient luy donner sitôt de leurs

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to find out what really can be depended on. You will see by the despatch I am writing to you and M. Hocquart what these arrangements are, and what are His Majesty's intentions. You will please to govern yourselves accordingly. . . .

Beauharnois and Hocquart to Maurepas.

October 29, 1743.

By a letter which the Sieur de la Vérendrye wrote on the fourth of May last to Monsieur de Beauharnois, he announced that his sons had informed him in the month of July 1742 that the tribe whom they call the Gens des Chevaux were not yet prepared, but that for their part they were resolved to perish rather than give up ; they had made sure of two guides belonging to the tribe established with the Mandan to conduct them to the Sea accompanied by six savages of the latter tribe, and they would not be able to send him word

nouvelles, attendu qu'ils n'espéroient se rendre qu'aux glaces dans l'endroit qu'ils alloient découvrir, à cause des détours qu'il leur falloit faire pour éviter les partis ennemis. Cependant le S[ieur] de la Verendrye a ajouté qu'il comptoit qu'ils se rendroient auprès de luy dans le cours de l'été der[nier] et qu'il informeroit le plustôt qu'il pourroit du succès de leur voyage.

M[essieu]rs de Beauharnois et Hocquart auront soin de leur côté d'en rendre compte dès qu'ils en seront instruits.

Par une lettre du 17. Avril 1742 on leur avoit marqué qu'il paroissoit nécessaire de faire ayder le S[ieur] de la Verendrye dans son entreprise par un officier qui eût les talens convenables pour le seconder ; qu'il étoit même important d'élever dans la colonie des officiers, qui, par leur conduite et les connoissances qu'ils pourroient prendre des mœurs des Nations avec lesquelles le S[ieur] de la Verendrye

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as soon as was expected because they did not expect to arrive before winter at the place which they were going to discover on account of the detours they would have to make to avoid enemies.

The Sieur de la Vérendrye added, nevertheless, that he expected to see them back in the course of last summer, and that he would give the earliest information he could respecting the success of their journey.

Messieurs de Beauharnois and Hocquart will, on their part, be careful to send forward information on the subject as soon as they receive it.

By a letter of the seventeenth of April 1742 it had been observed to them that it appeared necessary to give the Sieur de la Vérendrye the assistance in his enterprise of an officer possessing the talents needed for seconding him ; that it was equally important to train in the colony officers who, by their character and the information they might procure of the manners of the tribes with which the Sieur

a formé des liaisons pussent servir dans la suitte à les gouverner ; Que le S[ieur] de Muy, Lieut[enant] y paroissoit propre ; mais qu'on s'en raporteroit au choix de M[onsieur] de Beauharnois, aussy bien que sur le sentiment ou l'on étoit qu'il paroitroit également convenable de donner une pareille destina[ti]on a quelque autre officier ou cadet, à la place d'un des enfans du S[ieur] de la Verendrye qu'il étoit à propos de ne pas laisser toujours dans les Postes où ils servent.

Que cependant comme il ne seroit pas juste que le S[ieur] de Muy ou celui qui pourra estre choisi à sa place, suive cette destination sans en retirer quelque avantage, l'intention du Roy étoit qu'outre le transport des choses nécessaires à sa subsistance, il luy fut donné une récompense convenable par le S[ieur] de la Verendrye, sur le produit de la traite des Postes

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de la Vérendrye has formed friendly relations, might later serve to govern them.

The Sieur de Muy,[1] Lieutenant, was indicated as apparently a suitable person, but the choice would be left to Monsieur de Beauharnois, as also in regard to what seemed equally advisable, namely, to appoint similarly some other officer or cadet in the place of one of the sons of the Sieur de la Vérendrye, whom it was hardly fitting to leave permanently in the posts in which they serve.

As, however, it would not be just that the Sieur de Muy, or whoever might be chosen in his place, should follow that career without deriving any advantage from it, the intention of the King was that, in addition to the transport of things necessary to his subsistence, he should receive from the Sieur de la Vérendrye a suitable recompense from the proceeds of the trade carried on at the posts which he has estab-

[1] Jacques Pierre Daneaux, Sieur de Muy (1695–1758), ensign 1925 ; in command of the post at River St. Joseph, 1730–35 ; served in King George's War, 1744–48 ; second-in-command under Céloron at Detroit, and succeeded him there in 1754.

qu'il a établis, et pour laquelle Sa Ma[jes]té vouloit d'ailleurs qu'il payât 3000.ll entre les mains de M[onsieur] de Beauharnois.

On leur a encore répété l'année der[nièr]e de suivre tous ces arrangements dès que cela seroit possible; mais qu'il étoit nécessaire de ne pas différer l'établissem[en]t d'un off[ici]er en second par les raisons qu'on leur avoit expliquées.

Suivant ce qu'ils répondent, ils ne jugent pas que ces arrangements soient encore praticables, létablissement des Postes découverts par le S[ieur] de la Verendrye n'étant pas assez perfectionné. Le manque de vivres l'a même obligé d'abandonner les forts Dauphin et de Maurepas; et les sauvages de ces endroits qui en ont été fâches ont été dans la nécessité de porter leurs pelleteries aux Anglois. Il est vray qu'il aura pû rétablir ces Postes l'année der[nièr]e; ils n'en étoient point encore assuré.

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lished, to provide for which His Majesty desired that he should pay three thousand livres into the hands of Monsieur de Beauharnois.

The injunction was repeated last year to carry out all these arrangements as soon as it might be possible, and, for reasons which were explained to them, it was stated to be necessary there should be no delay in appointing an officer as second in command.

According to the tenor of their reply, they do not consider that these arrangements are as yet practicable, the organization of the posts [in the country] discovered by the Sieur de la Vérendrye not being sufficiently complete: want of provisions has even obliged him to abandon forts Dauphin and Maurepas, and the savages of those places, who were vexed at this being done, have been compelled to carry their peltries to the English. It is true he may have been able to re-establish these posts last year; they were not yet certain about that.

D'un autre côté le S[ieur] de la Verendrye a encore pour 50,500ll de dettes à payer dont il n'espère se libérer que sur les retours qu'il fera cette année, mais qui sont sujets à bien des événements.

Cette considération et l'abandon des deux forts qui doit rendre l'obligation où est cet officier de satisfaire à ses créances, beaucoup moins facile, ont porté M[essieu]rs de Beauharnois et Hocquart à entrer dans sa scituation, et par conséquent à ne pas exiger qu'il payât l'année de[rniè]re les 3000.ll à quoy sa ferme a été taxée.

Les mêmes motifs ont aussy déterminé M[onsieur] de Beauharnois à ne point charger cet off[ici]er de la gratifica-[ti]on et de la dépense que luy auroit occasionné un officier en second, d'autant plus qu'ayant demandé à être relevé en 1744 à cause de son peu de santé, on sera à tems de faire

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On the other hand, the Sieur de la Vérendrye has still 50,500 livres of debts to pay, and his only hope of discharging them is in the returns he will obtain this year, which, of course, are subject to many chances.

This consideration and the abandonment of the two forts, which must make it more difficult for that officer to meet his obligations, have led Messieurs de Beauharnois and Hocquart to take his situation into account, and consequently not to insist on his paying last year the three thousand livres assessed upon his farm.[1]

The same reasons have determined Monsieur de Beauharnois not to charge that officer with the salary and other expenses which the appointment of a second in command would have occasioned, and all the more because, he having applied to be relieved in 1744 on account of ill-health, there will be time enough to choose an officer capable of replacing

[1] That is, assessed upon the revenue derived from his trading posts, which, in the language of the period, were said to be 'farmed.'

choix d'un off[ici]er capable de le remplacer et de faire servir sous luy un de ses deux fils qui doivent l'un et l'autre avoir acquis des connoissances particulières de ces endroits.

Ils ajoutent que ce sera aussy dans ce tems qu'ils pourront faire quelques arrangements pour ces Postes, soit en les affermants comme les autres à différents particuliers où en les laissant exploiter par l'officier qui y commandera à la charge de la redevance fixée pour le S[ieur] de la Verendrye.

Ils attendront au surplus sur celà les ordres de Monseigneur.

A Mrs. de Beauharnois et Hocquart.

A Versailles le 30 Mars 1744.

Mrs.

J'ai receu vos lettres des 18 7^{bre} 29 8^{bre} et 2 9^{bre} derniers avec les pieces qui y etoient jointes. . . .

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him, and to arrange for one of his sons—both of whom must have acquired special knowledge of those places—serving under that officer.

They add that they will be able at the same time to make arrangements in regard to those posts, either by putting them out to farm like the others to different private individuals, or by allowing them to be exploited by the officer in command subject to the rental charge fixed by the Sieur de la Vérendrye.

They will await, however, the orders of Monseigneur as to that.

Maurepas to Beauharnois and Hocquart.

Versailles, March 30, 1744.

Messieurs,

I received your letters of the 18th of September, 29th of October, and 2nd of November last, with the enclosures thereto. . . .

Le compte que le S. de la Veranderie a rendu des progrès de sa decouverte ne doit pas faire juger plus favorablement que par le passé de l'attention qu'il y donne ny de l'envie qu'il a de la perfectionner. Quoiqu'il en soit, il faut attendre quel aura êté le succès du dernier voyage qu'ont dû faire ses deux fils. Mais il est bien a craindre qu'il n'en ait eté de ce voyage comme de la plus part de ceux qu'a annoncés le S. de la Veranderie depuis le commencement de son entreprise.

Par raport à l'arrangement que Sa M[ajes]té veut être executé pour l'exploitation des postes etablis par le Sr de la Veranderie, et pour les suites de son entreprise, la situation où se trouvent les affaires de cet officier, ni l'abandon qu'il vous a marqué avoir eté obligé de faire de deux de ces postes n'etoient pas des motifs de le suspendre. En tout cas, soit que le S[r] de la Veranderie prenne le parti de revenir,

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The report which the Sieur de la Vérendrye has made of the progress of his expedition does not afford reason for judging more favourably than heretofore of the attention he is bestowing on it or of the desire he has to bring it to a conclusion. However, we must wait and see what success will attend the last journey which his two sons were to have made ; but there is only too much reason to fear that it will be the same with this journey as with most of those announced by the Sieur de la Vérendrye since the beginning of his undertaking.

In regard to the arrangement which His Majesty desires to have carried out for managing the business of the posts established by the Sieur de la Vérendrye, and for the results of his enterprise, neither the situation of that officer's affairs nor his abandonment, as reported to you, of two of these posts were reasons for suspending action. In any case, whether the Sieur de la Vérendrye decides to return, or

soit qu'il veuille suivre son entreprise, cet arrangement doit etre executé. C'est l'intention de Sa Majesté ; Ayez agreable de prendre les mesures necessaires pour y pourvoir. . . .

[*Lettre de Messieurs de Beauharnois et Hocquart*]
[â Quèbec le 21 Octobre 1744.]

. . . . . .

Le S[ieur] de la Verandrye ayant demandé à être relevé, M. de Beauharnois l'a remplacé par le S[ieur] de Noyelle qui y est le plus propre tant pour négocier avec les sauvages de l'endroit que pour les maintenir en paix avec les Sioux

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whether he wishes to continue his exploration, that arrangement must be put in force. It is His Majesty's intention. Kindly take the necessary steps in the matter.

Beauharnois and Hocquart to Maurepas.

Quebec, October 21, 1744.

The Sieur de la Vérendrye having asked to be relieved, M. de Beauharnois has replaced him by the Sieur de Noyelles,[1] who is the most suitable person both for negotiating with the savages of the place and for keeping them at peace with the Sioux, and getting them to trouble the English.[2] That

[1] Nicolas Joseph de Noyelles, Sieur de Fleurimont, born in Meaux, France 1694, came to Canada, joined colonial forces, ensign 1710, lieutenant 1721, commanded expedition against Foxes 1732, commandant at Detroit 1733–1737, in charge of posts of the Western Sea 1744–47, commandant at Michilimackinac 1747, Chevalier of Saint-Louis 1749, major 1751, major of Three Rivers 1752, lieutenant de roi at same place 1758–60. Returned to France with his eldest son, Charles Joseph, in 1761 ; his second son, Pierre Philippe, remained in Canada, and his descendants still live there. He died some time after 1767.

[2] Beauharnois, in a letter to Maurepas, October 9, 1744, says : ' I have also instructed the Sieur de Noyelles, who went to relieve the Sieur de la Vérendrye, to spare no effort not only to maintain the peace among the western nations, but also to induce them to make some incursions against the English in that country.'

et les engager à troubler les Anglois. Cet off[ici]er ne perdra point de veu la découverte de la Mer du Ouest.

Quoyque les circonstances de la guerre diminuent beaucoup les avantages de l'exploitation de ces Postes, les équipeurs du S[ieur] de Noyelle se sont néanmoins soumis à payer 3000[ll] pour chaque année de leur exploita[ti]on.

Lettre de Messieurs Beauharnois et Hocquart.

Monseigneur

Nous avons reçu la lettre que vous nous avez fait l'honneur de nous écrire le 30 Mars dernier.

Nous avons eû celuy de vous rendre compte dans nos précedentes dépêsches de l'éstat de la colonie. . . .

M[onsieur] de Beauharnois joints à une de ses dépêsches particulières le journal qui luy a ésté envoyé par les enfans

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officer will not lose sight of the discovery of the Western Sea.

Although the circumstances of the war diminish greatly the advantages of the exploitation of these posts, the parties furnishing supplies for the Sieur de Noyelles are nevertheless under obligation to pay 3000 livres for each year of their exploitation.

Beauharnois and Hocquart to Maurepas.

Quebec, October 21, 1744.

Monseigneur,

We have received the letter that you did us the honour to write to us on the thirtieth of March last.

We have had the honour of giving you an account in our previous despatches of the state of the colony. . . .

Monsieur de Beauharnois joins to one of his private despatches the journal sent him by the sons of the Sieur de

du S[ieu]r de la Verandrye qui regarde le dernier voyage qu'ils ont fait pour suivre le projet de la découverte de la Mer de l'Ouest, ainsy que les endroits et les différentes nations chez lesquelles ils ont pénétré.

Cet officier ayant demandé d'estre relevé l'année dernière, M[onsieur] de Beauharnois a choisy pour ce commandement le S[ieu]r de Noyelle. . . .

BEAUHARNOIS—HOCQUART.

[*Lettre de Monsieur de Beauharnois*]

[à Québec le 27 8bre 1744.]

Monseigneur

J'ay l'honneur de vous envoyer cy joint le journal que le fils du S[ieur] de la Verendrye m'a adressé à l'occasion du voyage qu'il a fait chés les Mantannes pour suivre la découverte de la Mer de l'Ouest suivant les ordres et instructions

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la Vérendrye, which deals with the last journey they made to carry out the project for the discovery of the Western Sea, and also with the places and the different tribes to which their travels extended.

That officer having asked to be relieved last year, Monsieur de Beauharnois chose for that command the Sieur de Noyelles.

. . . . .

BEAUHARNOIS—HOCQUART.

Beauharnois to Maurepas.

Quebec, October 27, 1744.

Monseigneur,

I have the honour to send you herewith the journal which the son of the Sieur de la Vérendrye addressed to me in connection with the journey which he made to the country of the Mandan for the purpose of pursuing the discovery of the Western Sea, according to the orders and instructions

que le S[ieur] de la Verendrye luy en avoit donné et dont j'ay eû l'honneur de vous rendre compte l'année dernière.

Quoy qu'il ne soit pas encore parvenû au but qu'il s'étoit proposé il ne paroît pas, Monseigneur, qu'il ait rien négligé sur la diligence qu'il devoit y apporter, et il ose se flatter que vous voudrés bien en juger ainsi, si vous avés la bonté d'attacher quelques considérations aux oppositions qu'il a eû à surmonter, soit pour se concilier l'amitié des Nations chés lesquelles on n'avoit point encore pénétré, ou pour parvenir même à s'en servir comme il étoit indispensable de le faire, afin d'avoir d'eux les secours et les connoissances qui sont nécessaires pour cette entreprise. Cet officier, Monseigneur, m'a parû dans la dernière des mortiffications, de ce que l'on ait essayé de donner à la pureté de ces sentimens pour parvenir à cette découverte un caractère opposé aux vues qu'il avoit ; je ne prendray point la liberté d'entrer

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which the Sieur de la Vérendrye had given him, and a report of which I had the honour to give you last year.

Although he has not yet reached the goal he had proposed to himself, it does not appear, Monseigneur, that he neglected anything or came short in the diligence which it was his duty to exercise, and he ventures to hope that you will kindly see the matter in that light if you will have the goodness to take into consideration the opposition he had to surmount, partly in gaining the friendship of tribes to whose territories no one had ever previously penetrated, and partly in managing to make use of them, as it was indispensable to do in order to obtain from them the help and the information necessary for such an enterprise.

That officer, Monseigneur, appeared to me to be profoundly mortified at the efforts made [in certain quarters] to asperse the purity of his sentiments in connection with the prosecution of this discovery. I shall not take the liberty of entering into the detail of the reasons which may justify

dans le détail des raisons qui peuvent justiffier sa conduite. Mais je ne puis luy refuser les témoignages qui me paroissent luy être deûs, qu'il n'a dans cette découverte fait que l'avantage de la colonie par le nombre d'établissemens qu'il a faits dans des endroits ou personne n'avoit encore pénétré, qui produisent aujourd'huy quantité de castors et pelleteries dont les Anglois profittoient, sans qu'il ait occasionné aucune dépense à Sa Majesté pour ces établissemens. Que l'idée qu'on s'est faite des biens qu'il avoit ramassés dans ces endroits tombe d'elle même par l'indigence ou il est, pouvant vous assurer, Monseigneur, sans aucune complaisance ny prédilection pour luy, que douze années qu'il a passé dans ces Postes ne luy produisent pas environ quatre mille livres, qui est tout ce qu'il a et qui pouront peut être luy rester après qu'il aura payé les dettes qu'il a contractées pour cette entreprise, et qu'enfin Monseigneur, les choses dans l'état où il les a mises me paroissent toujours entièrement dignes

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his conduct, but I cannot refuse to him the testimony which seems to be his due, namely, that in this exploration he has but benefited the colony by the number of establishments he has made in places to which no one had previously penetrated, establishments which produce to-day a quantity of beaver and peltries of which the English were getting the advantage, and that without causing any expense to His Majesty for these establishments.

The idea that has been formed of the wealth he has amassed in those places is flatly disproved by his actual condition of indigence, as I am in a position to assure you, Monseigneur, without any complaisance or predilection for him, that the twelve years he has passed in those posts yield him barely four thousand livres, which is all that he has, and which will perhaps remain over after he shall have paid the debts he has contracted for that enterprise, and finally, Monseigneur, that the situation in which he has placed matters appears to me fully to justify the bestowal of your favours on him.

de vos bontés pour luy. C'est aussy dans l'espérance où je suis que vous voudrés bien les luy accorder que je vous suplie, Monseigneur, de luy en donner des marques sensibles en luy procurant son avancement à la première occasion ainsy que son ancienneté sur ceux qui ont esté pourveus des Compagnies vacantes cette année, je ne connois aucun endroit par lequel il ait pû mériter la mortiffication qu'il a eue de n'être point avancé, et j'oserois même ne l'attribuer qu'à l'oubly que vous avés fait, Monseigneur, de la proposition que j'ay eû l'honneur de vous faire du S[ieur] de la Verendrye comme le plus ancien des Lieutenants et le Sujet qui me paroissoit être le plus digne des grâces du Roy. En effet, Monseigneur, six années de services en France, trente deux en cette colonie sans reproches du moins je n'en sache aucun à luy faire et neuf blessures sur le corps, étoient des motifs qui ne m'ont pû faire balancer à vous le proposer pour remplir une des compagnies vacantes, et si j'ay eû lieu de me flatter,

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It is also in the hope which I entertain that you will see fit to do something for him that I beg you, Monseigneur, to give him some appreciable marks of your favour by procuring his advancement on the first occasion and also his seniority over those who have this year been appointed to vacant companies. I do not know of a single respect in which he has merited the mortification he has suffered in not being advanced, and I would venture to attribute it solely to oversight, Monseigneur, of the recommendation I have had the honour of making to you of the Sieur de la Vérendrye as the senior Lieutenant and the man who appeared to me to be the most worthy of the favour of the King.

In reality, Monseigneur, six years of service in France, thirty-two in this colony without reproach—at least I am not aware of any—nine wounds on the body, were reasons which made it impossible for me to hesitate in proposing him to you to fill one of the vacant companies, and if I have

Monseigneur, que vous étiés persuadé que je n'admettois sur mes listes que des officiers capables de servir et qui méritoient vos bontés, c'étoit particulièrem[en]t dans l'attention que vous auriés bien voulu faire en faveur du S[ieur] de la Verendrye.

Je suis avec un très profond respect, Monseigneur,
Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur
BEAUHARNOIS.

A Quebec le 27.
octobre 1744.

Journal du voyage fait par le Chevalier de La Verendrye avec un de ses frères, pour parvenir à la mer de l'Ouest, adressé à M. le Marquis de Beauharnois. 1742–43.

Monsieur :—

Je prends la liberté de vous faire le récit du voyage que j'ai fait avec un de mes frères et deux François envoyés par

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had reason to hope, Monseigneur, that you were persuaded that I would admit to my lists the names of such officers only as were capable of service and deserving of your kindness, it was particularly in connection with the favourable attention I relied on your giving to the case of Sieur de la Vérendrye.

I am with very profound respect, Monseigneur,
Your very humble and obedient servant,
BEAUHARNOIS.

Journal of the Expedition of the Chevalier de la Vérendrye[1] *and one of his brothers to reach the Western Sea, addressed to M. the Marquis de Beauharnois. 1742–43.*

Monsieur,

I take the liberty of submitting to you the narrative of the journey I made with one of my brothers and two French-

[1] See Introduction (p. 13) as to the identity of the Chevalier.

mon père, chargés de l'honneur de vos ordres pour aller découvrir la mer de l'Ouest par les Mantanes, suivant le rapport des Sauvages.

Nous sommes partis du fort la Reine le 29 Avril et arrivés aux Mantanes le 19 de May. Nous y avons resté jusques au 23 Juillet, toujours dans l'attente des Gens des Chevaux, que l'on nous faisoit espérer de jour en jour. Voyant la saison qui s'avançoit et ne voulant absolument pas relascher, je cherchai parmi les Mantanes deux hommes pour nous conduire sur les terres des Gens des Chevaux dans l'espérance de trouver quelque village près de la montagne ou sur notre route ; deux s'offrirent d'un grand cœur. Nous ne balançâmes pas un moment à partir. Nous marchâmes

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men sent by my father, honoured with your orders to proceed to the discovery of the Western Sea, through the country of the Mandan, the route indicated by the savages.

We left fort La Reine on the 29th of April and arrived among the Mandan on the 19th of May. We remained there till the 23rd of July awaiting the Gens des Chevaux,[1] who were expected, we were told, from day to day. Seeing the season advancing, and being determined not to give up the undertaking, I sought among the Mandan for a couple of men to conduct us as far as the territory of the Gens des Chevaux in the hope of finding some village near the mountain or upon our route. Two very cheerfully offered. We did not hesitate a moment to leave. We walked for twenty days

[1] This tribe occupied a country some distance to the south-west of the Mandan. The explorers reached one of their villages on October 19. It is impossible to identify with any degree of certainty this or the other tribes met with by the La Vérendryes on their journey to the mountains. Parkman conjectures that these were the Cheyenne, who ' have a tradition that they were the first tribe of this region to have horses.' The Cheyenne at this period were somewhere south of the Missouri, on their migration to the south-west. Lewis and Clark found them in the Black Hills in 1804. See also *Wis. Hist. Coll.* xviii. 188 *et seq.* for identification of this and other tribes.

vingt jours Ouest-Sud-Ouest, ce qui ne me donna pas bon augure de notre route ; nous ne trouvâmes personne, mais bien des bestes sauvages. Je remarquai en plusieurs endroits des terres de différentes couleurs, comme azur, espèce de vermillon, d'un vert de pré, d'un noir luisant, d'un blanc comme de la craye et d'autres couleur d'ocre. Si j'avois prévu dans ce temps ne pas repasser dans ces continens, j'en aurois pris de chaque espèce. Je ne pouvais me charger, sachant que j'avais une grande route à faire. Nous nous sommes rendus, le 11 Août, à la Montagne des Gens des Chevaux. Nos guides ne voulant pas passer outre, nous nous mîmes à construire une petite maison pour y attendre les premiers sauvages que nous pourrions découvrir ; nous allumions des feux de tous bords pour signaux afin d'attirer du monde à nous, étant bien résolus de nous confier aux premières nations qui se présenteroient.

Le 10 Septembre, il ne nous restoit qu'un Mantane ;

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west-south-west, which did not promised well for our route. We found no one, but saw plenty of wild beasts.

In several places I remarked earths of different colours, as blue, a kind of crimson, grass-green, shining black, chalk-white, and ochre.[1] Had I foreseen at the time that I should not travel over this territory again, I should have taken specimens of each kind. I could not load myself with them then, knowing I had a very long road to travel. On the second of August we reached the Mountain of the Gens des Chevaux. Our guides not wishing to go farther, we set to work to build a small house in order to await the first savages we might discover ; we also lit fires on all sides as signals to attract people to us, being resolved to entrust ourselves to the first tribes that might appear.

On the 10th of September only one Mandan remained

[1] Probably, as Parkman suggests, the coloured earths of the ' bad lands ' of the Little Missouri.

son camarade étoit parti depuis dix jours pour s'en retourner chez lui. J'allois ou j'envoyois tous les jours à la découverte sur des hauteurs. Le 14 Septembre, nos découvreurs aperçurent une fumée au Sud-Sud-Ouest de nous.

J'envoyai un François avec notre Mantane, qui trouvèrent un village des Beaux Hommes qui les reçurent bien. Ils leur firent entendre par signes que nous étions encore trois François, bâtis proche de là. Les chefs envoyèrent le lendemain avec nos deux hommes de leurs jeunes gens pour nous chercher. Nous nous y rendimes le 18, et on nous reçut avec de grandes démonstrations de joye.

Notre Mantane me demanda à s'en aller, craignant une nation qui étoit de leurs ennemis, je le payai grassement et

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with us ; his comrade had left ten days before to return home. I went myself or sent someone every day to the heights to look out. On the 14th of September our look-out men perceived a smoke to the south-south-west of us.

I sent a Frenchman with our Mandan, and they found a village of the Beaux Hommes,[1] who received them well. They gave them to understand by signs that there were three more Frenchmen of us and that we had put up a dwelling not far from there. The chiefs next day sent some of their young men with our two men to get us. We went there on the 18th and were received with great demonstrations of joy.

Our Mandan asked me to be allowed to go away, fearing a tribe that was hostile to his. I paid him handsomely and

[1] ' Probably,' says Parkman, ' Crows or Apsaroka, a tribe remarkable for stature and symmetry, who long claimed that region as their own.' Parkman supposes the explorers to have now been west of the Little Missouri, in the neighbourhood of the Powder River Range. Bougainville, in his memoir on the French posts, 1757, has *Owilinioek*, or *Beaux-Hommes*. Dr. R. G. Thwaites agrees with Parkman's identification (*Wis. Hist. Coll.* xviii. 190).

luy donnai ce qui lui étoit utile et nécessaire pour se rendre chez lui, comme j'avois, ci-devant, fait à son camarade.

Nous restâmes avec les Beaux Hommes vingt et un jours. Je leur fis entendre de mon mieux de nous faire conduire à un village des Gens des Chevaux. Ils me répondirent qu'il y avoit des jeunes gens qui me conduiroient jusqu'au premier que nous rencontrerions. Je leur fis plusieurs présens, dont ils me parûrent très satisfaits.

Nous en partîmes le 9 Novembre. Nous commencions à les entendre assez facilement pour nos besoins. Nos guides nous conduisirent par le Sud-Sud-Ouest.

Le deuxième jour, nous rencontrâmes un village de la nation des Petits Renards, qui nous témoignèrent une grande joye de nous voir. Après leur avoir fait quelques présens,

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gave him what was useful and necessary to enable him to reach home, as I had before done to his comrade.

We remained with the Beaux Hommes twenty-one days. I did my best to make them understand that I wanted them to take us to a village of the Gens des Chevaux. They answered me that some of their young men would take me as far as the first of the tribe we might meet. I made them a number of presents with which they seemed highly pleased.

We left there on the 9th of November,[1] by which time we were beginning to understand them easily enough for our needs. Our guides led us south-south-west.

On the second day we came across a village of the tribe of the Petits Renards,[2] who manifested great joy at seeing us. After having made them some presents, I got my guides

[1] Parkman notes that this is an error, and that a duplicate of the journal in the Dépôt des Cartes de la Marine correctly gives the date as October 9. The present copy shows that La Vérendrye visited the *Beaux Hommes* on September 18, and remained with them twenty-one days, or until October 9.

[2] Bougainville's memoir of 1757 has *Makesch* or *Petits Renards*. There is no foundation upon which even to hazard a guess as to the identity of this tribe or band.

je leur fis dire par nos guides que je cherchais les Gens des Chevaux pour me conduire à la Mer. Cela fit que tout le village marcha et toujours sur la même route. Je sentis bien pour lors que nous ne pouvions trouver qu'une mer connue. Le deuxième jour de marche nous rencontrâmes un village fort nombreux de la même nation. Ils nous firent bien des amitiés. Je leur fis plusieurs présens, qu'ils regardèrent comme de grandes nouveautés, et ils m'y parurent fort sensibles. Ils nous conduisirent à un village de Pioya, où nous arrivâmes le 15. Nous y fûmes très bien reçus. Après leur avoir fait quelques présens je leur proposai de nous conduire à quelque nation qui fut sur le chemin de la mer.—Nous continuâmes notre route au Sud-Ouest. Le 17, nous rencontrâmes un village nombreux de la même nation. Je leur fis quelques présens. Nous marchâmes tous ensembles jusqu'au 19 tenant le Sud, où nous arrivâmes

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to tell them that I was seeking the Gens des Chevaux to lead us to the Sea. At once the whole village set out, keeping always to the same route. I felt sure then that we could only find some already known sea. On the second day of our march we came to a very populous village of the same tribe. They were very friendly. I made them a number of presents which they considered great novelties and appeared to appreciate highly.

They conducted us to a Pioya [1] village where we arrived on the 15th. There we were very well received. After having made them some presents, I proposed to them to take us to some tribe that was on the road to the Sea. We continued to move in a south-westerly direction. On the 17th we came to a large village of the same tribe, and made them some presents. We all journeyed together until the 19th, working southward, and arrived at a village of the Gens des

[1] Bougainville has *Piwassa*, or *Grands-Parleurs*, probably the same tribe as La Vérendrye's *Pioya*. Thwaites suggests that these were the Kiowa, a tribe of the plains allied to the Comanche.

à un village des Gens des Chevaux. Ils étoient dans une grande désolation. Ce n'étaoient que pleurs et hurlements, tous leurs villages ayant été détruits par les Gens du Serpent et dont il n'étoit réchappé que très peu des leurs. Cette nation du Serpent passe pour très brave. Ils ne se contentent pas, dans une campagne, de détruire un village, selon la manière de tous les Sauvages ; ils continuent la guerre depuis le printemps jusqu'a l'automne, ils sont très nombreux et malheur à ceux qui se trouvent sur leur route !

Ils n'ont aucune nation pour amie. L'on dit qu'en 1741 ils avoient entièrement défait dix-sept villages, avoient tué tous les hommes et les femmes agées, fait esclaves les jeunes femmes et les avoient trafiquées à la mer pour des chevaux et quelques marchandises.

Chevaux. They were in great distress, nothing but tears and groans, all their villages having been destroyed by the Gens du Serpent [1] and very few having escaped.

This Serpent tribe is considered very brave. They do not content themselves in a campaign with destroying a village, according to the custom of all the savages ; they keep up the war from spring to autumn. They are very numerous, and woe to those who cross their path ! They are not friendly with any tribe. It is said that in 1741 they had entirely ruined seventeen villages, killed all the men and the old women, made slaves of the young women and sold them on the coast for horses and merchandise.

[1] Bougainville's *Hactannes*, or *Gens du Serpent*. Parkman identifies these as the Shoshoni, who occupied parts of Wyoming and Idaho. The name *Ietan*, with many variants, such as *Hietanes*, *Alietans*, etc., was applied to several western tribes, including the Shoshoni (see Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*). E. D. Neill also identifies the *Gens du Serpent* as Shoshoni (see *Montana Hist. Contrs.* i. 276). Doane Robinson, of the State Historical Society of South Dakota, on the other hand, argues from the character and probable locality of this tribe as described by La Vérendrye that they were the Kiowa, who about that period occupied the Black Hills.

C'est chez les Gens des Chevaux, où je m'informai si l'on avoit la connoissance de la nation qui habitoit la mer. Ils me répondirent qu'il n'y avoit jamais été personne de leur nation, le chemin étant barré par les Gens du Serpent ; que nous pourrions voir, par la suite, quelques nations, qui commerçoient avec les Blancs de la Mer, en faisant un grand tour. J'engageai par présents le village à marcher pour me rendre chez les Gens de l'Arc, seule nation qui par leur bravoure ne craint point les Gens du Serpent. Ils s'en sont fait même redouter par la sagesse et la bonne conduite du chef qui est à leur tête. L'on me fit aussi espérer qu'il pourrait me donner quelques connoissances de la mer, étant ami des nations qui y vont en commerce.

I enquired among the Gens des Chevaux whether they were acquainted with the nation living on the coast. They replied that no one of their tribe had ever been there, the road being barred by the Gens du Serpent ; we could see later, by making a great detour, some tribes that traded with the whites of the coast. By means of presents I persuaded the village to set out and take me to the Gens de l'Arc,[1] the only tribe sufficiently brave not to stand in dread of the Gens du Serpent. They have even caused the latter to be afraid of them through the wisdom and skilful leadership of the chief who is at their head. I was also given reason to hope that they would be able to give me some information about the Sea as they are on friendly terms with some tribes who go there to trade.

[1] Bougainville says these were known to the Cree as *Atchapcivinioques*, and to the Assiniboin as *Utasibaoutchactas*. Parkman supposes that the *Gens de l'Arc* may have been one of the bands of the western Sioux. Granville Stuart assumes that they were the Sans Arcs band of Sioux (Itazipcho or Sans Arcs) (see *Montana Hist. Contrs.* i. 279). Doane Robinson says they were ' clearly of the allied Pawnee-Arickara people,' judging from their position and characteristics. L. A. Prud'homme identifies them as the Bow Indians of the upper waters of the South Saskatchewan (*R.S.C. Trans.* 1905). Thwaites believes they were the Cheyenne or the Arapaho, who were ' expert in the use of bow and arrow.'

Ayant toujours marché au Sud-Ouest, nous fîmes rencontre le 18 Novembre, d'un village très nombreux des Gens de la Belle-Riviere. Ils nous donnèrent connaissance des Gens de L'Arc, qui étoient près de là. Nous marchâmes tous ensembles au Sud-Ouest ; le 21, nous découvrîmes le village qui nous parût fort grand. Toutes les nations de ces pays-là ont quantité de chevaux, ânes, mulets ; ils leur servent à porter leurs équipages et de montures tant pour leurs chasses que pour leurs routes.

Arrivés au village, le chef nous mena à sa loge. Nous faisant des gracieusetés et des politesses qui ne sentoient en aucune façon le Sauvage, il fit mettre tous nos équipages dans sa loge, qui étoit très grande, et prendre un grand soin de nos chevaux.

Jusque là, nous avions été bien reçus dans tous les villages

Having continued to go south-west we came on the 18th November to a very populous village of the Gens de la Belle Rivière.[1] They told us about the Gens de l'Arc who lived not far from there. We all went together to the south-west. On the 21st we discovered the village, which seemed to us very large. All the tribes of those countries have a great many horses, asses, and mules, which they use to carry their baggage and also for riding both in the chase and in their travels.

When we had arrived at the village the chief conducted us to his lodge. Paying us attentions and politenesses that had in them nothing of the savage, he had all our baggage put into his lodge, which was very large, and saw that great care was taken of our horses.

Up to that point we had been very well received in all

[1] Robinson identifies these as a band of Arickara or Rees, on the upper waters of the Cheyenne river. 'From time immemorial,' he says, 'the Sioux have called the Cheyenne river of South Dakota *Wakpa Waste*, that is Beautiful river.'

où nous avions passé, mais ce n'étoit rien en comparaison des belles manières du grand chef de L'Arc, homme nullement intéressé comme tous les autres, et qui a toujours pris un très grand soin de tout ce qui nous appartenoit.

Je m'attachai à ce chef, qui méritait toute notre amitié J'appris en peu de temps la langue, assez pour me faire entendre et entendre aussi ce qu'il me pouvoit dire, par l'application qu'il avoit à m'instruire.

Je lui demandai s'ils connoissoient les blancs de la mer et s'ils pouvoient nous y conduire, il me répondit : ' Nous les connaissons par ce que nous en ont dit les prisonniers des Gens du Serpent que nous devons joindre dans peu. Ne soyez pas surpris, si vous voyez rassemblés avec nous tant de villages. Les paroles sont envoyées de tous cotés, pour nous joindre. Vous entendez tous les jours chanter la guerre, ce n'est pas sans dessein : Nous allons marcher du côté

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the villages we had passed through, but nothing in comparison with the gracious manners of the head chief of the Gens de l'Arc, a man entirely disinterested unlike the rest, and who always took the very greatest care of everything belonging to us.

I attached myself to that chief, who merited all our friendly feelings. In a short time, through the pains he took to teach me, I learnt the language sufficiently to make myself understood and also to understand what he said to me.

I asked him if they knew the whites of the coast and if they could take us thither. He replied : ' We know them through what has been told us by prisoners of the Gens du Serpent, amongst whom we shall shortly arrive. Don't be surprised if you see so many villages assembled with us. Word has been sent in all directions for them to join us. You are hearing war shouts every day ; it is not without intention ; we are going to march in the direction of the

des grandes montagnes qui sont proches de la mer, pour y chercher les Gens du Serpent. N'appréhendez point de venir avec nous, vous n'avez rien à craindre, vous y pourrez voir la mer que vous cherchez.'

Il poursuivit son discours ainsi : 'Les François qui sont à la mer, me dit-il, sont nombreux ; ils ont quantité d'esclaves qu'ils établissent sur leurs terres dans chaque nation ; ils ont des appartement séparés, ils les marient ensemble et ne les tiennent pas génés, ce qu'il fait qu'ils se plaisent avec eux et ne cherchent pas à se sauver.—Ils élèvent quantité de chevaux et autres animaux, qu'ils font travailler sur leur terre.—Ils ont quantité de chefs pour les soldats, ils en ont aussi pour la prière.' Il me dit quelques mots de leur langage. Je reconnus qu'il me parloit espagnol, et ce qui affirma de me confirmer fut le récit qu'il me fit du massacre des Espagnols qui alloient à la découverte du Missouri, dont j'avois entendu parler. Tout cela refroidit

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high mountains which are near the sea to find the Gens du Serpent. Do not be afraid to come with us, you have nothing to fear, and you will be able to see the sea that you are in search of.'

He pursued his discourse thus : 'The French who are on the coast are numerous ; they have a large number of slaves whom they settle on their lands in each tribe ; they have separate apartments ; they marry them to one another and do not oppress them, so that they like being with them and do not seek to run away. They breed a great many horses and other animals which they use in tilling the land. They have many chiefs for the soldiers and have some also for prayer.'

He spoke a few words of their language which I recognized as Spanish, being confirmed in my opinion by the recital he gave me of the massacre of the Spanish who were going in search of the Missouri, a thing I had heard spoken

bien mon empressement pour une mer connue ; cependant j'aurais fort souhaité y aller, si la chose avoit été faisable.

Nous continuâmes notre marche, tantôt Sud-Sud-Ouest, quelquefois Nord-Ouest ; toujours notre troupe s'augmentait par la jonction de plusieurs villages de différentes nations. Le 1er janvier 1743 nous nous trouvâmes à la vue des montagnes. Le nombre des combattants passoit deux mille ;

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of.[1] All that cooled my ardour considerably for a sea already known ; nevertheless I should greatly have wished to go there had the thing been possible.

We continued our march, sometimes south-south-west, sometimes north-west, our troop increasing all the time through the addition of several villages of different tribes. On the 1st of January 1743 we found ourselves in sight of the mountains. The number of fighting men exceeded two

[1] Early in 1721 two hundred mounted Spaniards, followed by a large body of Comanche warriors, came from New Mexico to attack the French at the Illinois, but were met and routed on the Missouri by tribes of that region' (Parkman, *Half Century of Conflict*, ii. 14). Parkman gives as his authority a memoir of Bienville to the Conseil de Régence, July 20, 1721. Charlevoix, in his *Journal Historique*, gives a fuller account of the same incident, a translation of which will be found in *Wis. Hist. Coll.* xvi. 413–14. The Spanish version of the affair is given in *Kansas Hist. Coll.* xi. 397–423, in an article purporting to be written from Spanish sources in the Archives of Santa Fé. The late Dr. R. G. Thwaites, who drew my attention to this article, says : ' According to this an expedition composed of forty mounted Spanish soldiers, under the command of Lieut.-Col. Don Pedro de Villazur, accompanied as a volunteer by Jean l'Archevêque, one of the murderers of La Salle, set out from Santa Fé, June 14, 1720, on a punitive expedition against a band of Pawnee who had settled on the upper Platte, not far from its forks. They were accompanied by friendly Apaches. The 16th August the Pawnee, aided by some French traders, set upon the expedition, and two-thirds of the Spaniards, including the commandant, fell at the first volley of arrows and muskets. Only six or seven escaped the massacre. The booty was considerable, and the author claims (p. 420) to have seen knives, combs, buckles, etc., preserved among the Pawnee for more than a hundred years. He claims also that the French accounts of the period wrongly attribute the expedition to a desire to reach the Missouri and the Indians of that name. Probably when the Mississippi Valley exploitation of the French archives, contemplated by the American Historical Association, occurs, we shall get more correct French notices of this affair.'

avec leurs familles cela faisoit une troupe considérable, marchant toujours par des prairies magnifiques et où les bêtes étaient en abondance.—Toutes les nuits ce n'était que chants et hurlements, et on ne faisoit autre chose que de venir pleurer sur notre tête pour les accompagner à la guerre. Je résistois toujours en disant que nous étions pour aplanir la terre, et non pour la brouiller.

Le chef de l'Arc répétoit souvent qu'il était peiné à notre sujet, de savoir ce que penseroient de nous toutes les nations, voyant que nous faisions difficulté de les suivre ; qu'il nous demandait en grâce (étant engagés avec eux et ne pouvant nous en retirer qu'au retour de la guerre) de vouloir bien l'accompagner pour être spectateurs seulement, et nous demandant de ne pas nous exposer ; que les Gens du Serpent étaient nos ennemis aussi bien que les leurs et que nous devions savoir qu'ils n'avoient personne pour amis.

Nous consultâmes entre nous ce que nous avions à faire.

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thousand, and these with their families made a considerable body as we continued to march through magnificent prairies where wild animals were in abundance. Every night songs and yells filled the air, and the men kept coming and weeping over our heads begging us to accompany them to the war. I always refused, saying that we wanted to create peace, not discord.

The chief of the Gens de l'Arc said to me over and over again that he was troubled on our account, not knowing what all the tribes would think of our unwillingness to follow them ; that he asked us as a favour (seeing that we were engaged with them and could only retire on their return from the war) to accompany him as spectators only and begging us not to expose ourselves. The Gens du Serpent, he said, were our enemies as well as theirs, and we ought to know that they were friends with nobody.

We consulted amongst ourselves as to what was best to

Nous nous résolûmes de les suivre, voyant l'impossibilité où nous étions de pouvoir prendre d'autre parti, joint à l'envie que j'avois de voir la mer de dessus les Montagnes. Je fis part au chef de l'Arc de ce que nous avions décidé; il m'en parût très content. L'on assembla ensuite un grand conseil, où nous fûmes appelés comme de coutume; les harangues furent fort longues de la part de chaque nation. Le chef de l'Arc me les expliquoit; tout rouloit sur les mesures, qu'il y avoit à prendre pour la sureté de leurs femmes et enfants pendant leur absence et sur la manière de s'y prendre pour approcher les ennemis. L'on nous adressa ensuite la parole pour nous prier de ne pas les abandonner. Je répondis au chef de l'Arc, qui le répéta ensuite à toute l'assemblée, que le Grand Chef des François souhaitoit que tous ses enfants fussent tranquilles et nous avoit donné ordre de porter toutes les nations à la paix, désirant voir toute la terre aplanie et paisible; que connaissant leurs

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do. We resolved to follow them, seeing that it was impossible in our situation to do anything else; and besides I had a strong desire to behold the Sea from the top of the mountains. I informed the chief of the Gens de l'Arc of what we had decided and he seemed greatly pleased. A great council was then assembled, to which we were summoned as usual. Long speeches were made on behalf of every tribe, and were explained to me by the chief of the Gens de l'Arc. They all turned upon the measures to be taken for the protection of their wives and children during their absence, and how best to approach the enemy. They then addressed us and begged us not to abandon them.

I replied to the chief of the Gens de l'Arc, who repeated it afterwards to the whole assembly, that the Great Chief of the French wished that all his children should be quiet and had ordered us to induce all the nations to live in peace, desiring to see the whole country tranquillized and peace-

cœurs malades avec juste raison, je baissois la tête et que nous les accompagnerions puisqu'ils le souhaitaient avec tant d'ardeur, pour les aider seulement de nos conseils dans le besoin. On nous fit de grands remercîments et de longues cérémonies du calumet.

Nous continuâmes de marcher jusqu'au 8 janvier. Le 9 nous quittâmes le village ; je laissai mon frère pour garder notre équipage, qui étoit dans la loge du chef de l'Arc.

La plus grande partie du monde étoit à cheval, marchant en bon ordre ; enfin, le douzième jour, nous arrivâmes aux Montagnes. Elles sont la plupart bien boisés de toutes espèces de bois et paroissent fort hautes.

Etant près du gros du village des Gens du Serpent, les découvreurs vinrent nous avertir qu'ils s'étaient tous sauvés avec grande précipitation, qu'ils avaient abandonnés leurs cabanes et une grande partie de leur équipages. Ce discours mit la terreur parmi tout notre monde, dans l'appréhension,

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able ; that, knowing that their hearts were sick with just reason, I bowed my head, and that we would accompany them as they so ardently desired it, but only to aid them by our advice in case of necessity. They thanked us very much and long ceremonies followed with the pipe.

We continued our march until the 8th of January. On the 9th we left the village, and I left my brother behind to guard our baggage which was in the lodge of the Bow chief. Most of the people were on horseback marching in good order. Finally on the twelfth day we arrived at the mountains. For the most part they are well wooded with timber of every kind and appear very high.

Being near the main village of the Gens du Serpent our scouts came to inform us that they had all made their escape with great precipitation, and that they had abandoned their lodges and a large part of their effects. This report caused terror among all our people, for they feared that the enemy,

où ils étaient, que, les ennemis les ayant découverts, ils n'allassent sur leurs villages et ne s'y rendissent avant eux. Le chef de l'Arc fit ce qu'il put pour les dissuader et les engager à poursuivre. Personne ne voulut l'écouter. 'Il est bien fâcheux, me disoit-il, que je vous aie amené jusques icy et de ne pouvoir passer outre.'

J'étois très mortifié de ne pas monter sur les Montagnes, comme j'avois souhaité. Nous prîmes donc le parti de nous en retourner. Nous étions venus jusques là en très bon ordre, mais le retour fut bien différent, chacun fuyait de son bord. Nos chevaux, quoique bons, étoient bien fatigués et ne mangeoient pas souvent. Je marchais de compagnie avec le chef de l'Arc, mes deux François nous suivoient. Je m'aperçus, après avoir fait un grand bout de chemin, sans regarder derrière moy, qu'ils me manquoient. Je dis au chef de l'Arc que je ne voyois plus mes François, il me répondit : 'Je vais arrêter tout le monde qui est avec nous.'

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having discovered them, had made for their villages and would get there before they could. The chief of the Gens de l'Arc did what he could to get that idea out of their heads and persuade them to go forward, but no one would listen to him. 'It is very annoying,' he said to me, 'that I have brought you so far and that we cannot go any farther.'

I was greatly mortified not to be able to climb the mountains as I had wished. We then decided to return. We had come to this point in very good order but the return was quite different. Every one fled as he felt inclined. Our horses, though good, were very tired and were not fed often enough. I marched in company with the Bow chief and my two Frenchmen followed us. I perceived, after having gone a considerable distance without looking back, that they were not to be seen. I said to the chief of the Gens de l'Arc that I did not see my Frenchmen. He replied : 'I will stop every one who is with us.'

Je retournai à toute bride sur mes pas et je les aperçus à la pointe d'une ile, qui faisoient manger leurs chevaux : les ayant joints, j'aperçus quinze hommes qui approchoient du bois en se couvrant de leurs pare-flèches. Il y en avoit un bien plus avancé que les autres, nous les laissâmes approcher à la demi-portée du fusil. Voyant qu'il se mettoient en devoir de nous attaquer, je jugeai bon de leur décocher quelques coups de fusil, ce qui les obligea de se retirer promptement, cette arme étant très respectable parmi toutes ces nations qui n'en ont pas l'usage, et leur pare-flèches ne pouvant pas les garantir de la balle. Nous restâmes là jusques à la nuit, après quoi nous marchâmes, selon notre idée, dans l'espérance de trouver de nos Sauvages. Les prairies où nous passâmes sont rares et sèches ; la piste des chevaux ne marquent point, nous continuâmes notre route à la bonne aventure, ne sachant pas si nous allions bien. Enfin nous arrivâmes des premiers au village des Gens

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I galloped back as fast as I could and saw them at the point of an island letting their horses feed ; having caught up with them, I saw fifteen men approaching from the wood and covering themselves with their shields. One was much in advance of the others, and we allowed them to come within half gunshot. Seeing that they were preparing to attack us, I judged it well to let fly a few shots at them which caused them to retreat in a hurry, fire-arms enjoying a high respect among these tribes, who do not make use of them, and whose shields cannot protect them against bullets.

We remained there till nightfall, after which we set out, as we thought, in expectation of finding our savages. The prairies through which we passed are bare and dry so that horses do not leave footprints. We continued our route at random, not knowing whether we were on the right track or not. Finally we arrived among the first at the village of

de L'Arc, le 9 Février, qui étoit le deuxième de notre déroute.

Le chef de l'Arc avoit bien couru pour faire arrêter la bande, qui marchoit avec nous, mais la terreur étoit trop grande parmi eux pour s'amuser sur un terrain si près de l'ennemi. Il fut très inquiet toute la nuit ; le lendemain, il fit faire un grand cerne pour nous couper le chemin. Il ne cessa de faire chercher ses gens, sans pouvoir réussir à les trouver. Il arriva enfin au village, cinq jours après nous, plus mort que vif, dans le chagrin où il était de ne scavoir ce que nous étions devenus. La première nouvelle qu'il reçut fut que nous étions arrivés heureusement à la veille du mauvais temps, ayant tombé le lendemain de notre arrivée deux grands pieds de neige et un temps affreux. Sa tristesse se changea en joye ; il ne sçavait quelles caresses et amitiés nous faire.

Ce qui nous surprit fut que le chef de l'Arc, avec plusieurs

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the Gens de l'Arc on the 9th February, the second day after losing our way.

The chief of the Gens de l'Arc had had a good run to stop the band that was marching with us, but their terror was too great to permit them to dally on ground so near to the enemy. He was very anxious all night ; the next day he drew a great circle to intercept us. He continued to look for his people without succeeding in finding them. He finally arrived at the village, five days after us, more dead than alive, and worrying terribly over not knowing what had become of us. The first news he received was that we had arrived fortunately just before the bad weather, as on the day after our arrival full two feet of snow fell accompanied with frightful weather. His sadness changed to joy ; he did not know how to show us enough affection and friendship.

What surprised us was that the chief of the Gens de

autres, avoit séparé son monde pour nous cerner, afin de pouvoir nous découvrir. Il en arrivoit tous les jours au village qui étoient bien tristes, nous croyant bien perdus. Toutes les autres nations s'étoient séparées, afin de trouver plus de facilité pour les vivres. Nous continuâmes à marcher avec les Gens de l'Arc jusqu'au premier jour de Mars, faisant toujours l'Est-Sud-Est.

J'envoyai un de nos François avec un Sauvage chez les Gens de la Petite Cerise, ayant appris qu'ils étoient proches. Ils furent dix jours à leur voyage et nous apportèrent des paroles pour nous inviter à les aller joindre.

Je communiquai notre dessein au chef de l'Arc, qui fut sensiblement touché de nous voir résolus de le laisser. Nous ne l'étions pas moins de le quitter par les bonnes manières qu'il avoit toujours eues pour nous. Pour le consoler, je

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l'Arc with several others had divided his people so as to surround us in order to discover us. Some of them kept arriving daily at the village, very sad, believing us to be lost. All the other nations had separated in order the more easily to procure food. We continued to travel with the Gens de l'Arc until the first of March, going east-south-east all the time.

I sent one of our Frenchmen with a savage to the Gens de la Petite Cerise,[1] having learnt that they were near at hand. They were ten days on the journey and brought us an invitation to go and join them.

I communicated our plan to the chief of the Gens de l'Arc, who was greatly affected at finding us resolved to leave him. We were not less so at parting from him on account of the kindly treatment we had always received at his hands.

[1] The explorers on March 19 reached a village of this people, on the banks of the Missouri. This village is now known to have been on the site of the town of Pierre (see footnote, p. 427). 'From time immemorial,' says Robinson, 'the Arickara or Rees had resided about Fort Pierre and continued to do so until 1797.' It would appear, therefore, that the *Gens de la Petite Cerise* were a band of Arickara.

lui promis de venir le trouver, supposé qu'il voulut aller s'établir près d'une petite rivière que je lui indiquai, y construire un fort et y faire du grain.

Il acquiesça à tout ce que je lui proposai, et me pria, sitôt que j'aurais vu mon père au fort la Reine, d'en partir ensuite, le printemps suivant, pour le venir joindre ; je luy promis pour sa consolation tout ce qu'il souhaitoit, et luy fis présent de tout ce que je croyois pouvoir lui être utile.

Ne voyant aucune apparence de nous faire mener chez les Espagnols, et ne doutant pas que mon père ne fut bien inquiet de nous, nous prîmes le parti de nous en aller au fort la Reine, et laissâmes les Gens de l'Arc avec bien du regret de part et d'autre.

Nous arrivâmes le 15 de Mars chez les Gens de la Petite Cerise. Ils revenoient d'hivernement ; ils étoient à deux jours de marche de leur fort, qui est sur le bord du Missoury.

To console him I promised to come and see him again on condition that he would consent to establish himself near a little river that I indicated, and build a fort and raise grain there.

He acquiesced in everything I proposed, and begged me as soon as I had seen my father at fort La Reine to leave there in the coming spring in order to join him ; I promised him everything he wished to console him and made him a present of whatever I thought could be useful to him.

Seeing no chance of being conducted to the Spanish settlement, and feeling sure that my father would be very anxious about us, we decided to make for fort La Reine and left the Gens de l'Arc with much regret on both sides. On the 15th of March we arrived among the Gens de la Petite Cerise. They were returning from their winter quarters, and were two days' march from their fort, which is on the bank of the Missouri.

Nous arrivâmes le 19 à leur fort et y fûmes reçus avec de grandes démonstrations de joie. Je m'appliquai à apprendre leur langue et y trouvai beaucoup de facilité. Il y avoit un homme chez eux, qui avoit été élevé chez les Espagnols et en parloit la langue comme sa langue naturelle. Je le questionnois souvent, et il me dit tout ce qu'on m'avoit rapporté à son sujet, qu'il avoit été baptisé et n'avoit point oublié ses prières. Je lui demandai s'il était facile d'y pouvoir aller. Il me répondit qu'il y avoit loin et bien des dangers à courir, par rapport à la nation du Serpent ; qu'il faudroit au moins vingt jours pour s'y rendre à cheval.

Je m'informai de leur commerce. Il me dit qu'ils travailloient le fer et faisoient un grand négoce de peaux de bœufs et d'esclaves, donnoient en échange des chevaux et des marchandises, à la volonté des Sauvages, mais point de fusils ni munitions.

Il m'apprit qu'il y avoit, à trois journées de chez eux,

We arrived on the 19th at their fort and were there received with great demonstrations of joy. I applied myself to learn their language and found it quite easy. There was a man among them who had been brought up with the Spaniards and spoke their language like his mother tongue. I questioned him often and he told me all that had been reported to me about him, that he had been baptized and had not forgotten his prayers. I asked him if it was easy to go there. He answered that it was a great distance, and that the dangers were many on account of the Serpent tribe ; that it took at least twenty days' travel on horseback.

I enquired about their commerce. He told me that they worked in iron and did a large trade in ox-hides and slaves, giving in exchange horses and goods at the choice of the savages, but not guns or ammunition.

He informed me that three days' journey from where we

un François, établi depuis plusieurs années. J'aurais été le trouver, si nos chevaux eussent été en étât. Je pris le parti de lui écrire pour l'engager à nous venir trouver, que nous l'attendrions jusqu'a la fin de Mars, espérant partir, au commencement d'Avril, pour nous rendre aux Mantanes et de là au fort de la Reine ; que, s'il ne pouvoit venir, il nous fit du moins sçavoir de ses nouvelles.

Je posai sur une éminence, près du fort, une plaque de plomb aux armes et inscription du Roy et des pierres en pyramide pour Monsieur le Général.—Je dis aux Sauvages, qui n'avoient pas connaissance de la plaque de plomb que j'avois mise dans la terre, que je mettois ces pierres en mémoire de ce que nous étions venus sur leurs terres. J'aurais fort

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then were there was a Frenchman who had been settled there for several years. I would have gone to see him if our horses had been in condition. I decided to write to him to ask him to come and see us ; and that we would wait for him till the end of March, hoping to leave in the beginning of April to go to the country of the Mandan and thence to fort La Reine. If he could not come, I asked him to let us at least have some news from him.

I deposited on an eminence near the fort a tablet of lead with the arms and inscription of the King and a pyramid of stones for the General.[1] I said to the savages, who did not know about the tablet of lead that I had put in the ground, that I was erecting these stones in memory of the fact that we had come upon their land. I should have greatly wished

[1] By one of those lucky accidents that sometimes come to the aid of historical students, this plate was found, February 16, 1913, ' on a gumbo hill in the town of Fort Pierre, South Dakota, very near to the High School building, by a party of school children.' Mr. Doane Robinson, who supplies the above information, adds that ' the plate is in a very fine state of preservation, very little the worse for its one hundred and seventy years' exposure in this region.' The text of the inscriptions on either side of the plate has been given in the Introduction.

souhaité de prendre hauteur à cet endroit ; mais notre astrolabe étoit, depuis le commencement de notre voyage, hors d'étât de servir, l'anneau en étant cassé.

Nous voyant, au mois d'Avril, sans nouvelles de notre François, étant pressé par les guides que j'avois loués pour nous conduire aux Mantanes, et nos chevaux en bon étât, je me préparai à partir et fit plusieurs présens aux chefs de la nation, qui nous avoient toujours bien gardés et bien traités chez eux, ainsi qu'à plusieurs autres des plus considérables de nos bons amis.

Je recommandai aux chefs que si, par hasard, le François à qui j'avois écrit, venoit à leur fort, peu de temps après notre départ, il pouvoit venir nous trouver aux Mantanes, comptant y faire quelque séjour. J'aurois été flatté de le retirer d'avec les Sauvages. J'assuray le chef de la nation que j'aurois un très grand soin des trois jeunes gens qu'il nous donnoit pour nous guider, et que, quoique les Man-

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to take the latitude of that place ; but our astrolabe had not been of any use from the beginning of our journey, the ring of it being broken.

Seeing ourselves, April having arrived, without news of our Frenchman, and being pressed by the guides I had hired to take us to the country of the Mandan, and our horses being in good condition, I prepared to leave and made several presents to the chiefs of the tribe, who had not ceased to take good care of us and treat us well, and also to some of the most important of our good friends.

I left word with the chiefs that if by chance the Frenchman to whom I had written came to their fort shortly after our departure, he might come and see us among the Mandan, as we intended to make some stay there. I should have been pleased to get him away from the savages. I assured the chief of the tribe that I should take very special care of the three youths he was letting us have as guides, and that,

tanes fussent leurs ennemis, ils n'avoient rien à craindre étant avec nous.

Nous partîmes le 2 Avril, bien regrettés de toute la nation. Ils nous firent de grandes instances pour revenir les voir.

Le 9, nous rencontrâmes sur le midy, un village de vingt cinq cabanes des Gens de la Flèche collée, autrement dits Sioux des Prairies. Nous passâmes parmi les femmes et équipages. Nous arrêtâmes très peu. Ils nous firent tous amitié et nous montrèrent l'endroit où ils alloient camper.

Nous nous mîmes à la vue de leur village, espérant qu'il en viendroit quelques-uns nous trouver, nous tenant toujours bien sur nos gardes. Il ne vînt personne.

Le lendemain, nous poursuivîmes notre route, tantôt Nord-Nord-Est et Nord-Ouest jusqu'aux Mantanes, sans rien rencontrer. Nous y arrivâmes le 18 May. Je renvoyai nos guides après les avoir bien satisfaits.

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although the Mandan were their enemies, there would be nothing to fear when they were with us.

We left on the second of April, much regretted by the whole tribe; they begged us earnestly to come again and see them.

On the 9th we came across a village to the south of twenty-five lodges of the Gens de la Flèche Collée, otherwise known as the Prairie Sioux. We passed among the women and the baggage, but hardly stopped at all. They were quite friendly and showed us the place where they meant to camp. We took up our position in view of their village, hoping that some of them would come and see us, and keeping constantly on our guard, but no one came.

The next day we resumed our journey, sometimes north-north-east and sometimes north-west, till we came to the Mandan without meeting anything. We arrived there on the 18th of May. I sent back our guides after having fully satisfied them.

Nous avions dessein de demeurer quinze ou vingt jours à nous reposer et remettre nos chevaux en bon étât ; mais, le 26, j'appris qu'il y avoit des Assiniboels au fort de la Butte, qui devoient partir pour le fort la Reine ; nous apprêtâmes promptement pour profiter de leur occasion et nous mettre, par là, à couvert des dangers des ennemis. Nous passâmes au fort la Butte le 27 au matin ; les Assiniboels venoient d'en partir. Nous ne leur avions pas fait savoir que nous voulions aller avec eux. Il se présenta deux Mantanes pour venir voir mon père et apprendre le chemin de notre fort. Nous pressâmes un peu la marche et nous joignîmes les Assiniboels à leur campement ; ils étoient plus de cent. Nous continuâmes notre route ensemble.

Le 31, nos découvreurs aperçurent trente Sioux embusqués sur notre chemin. Nous donnâmes tous ensemble. Ils

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It had been our intention to remain fifteen or twenty days to rest and get our horses in good condition ; but on the 26th I learnt that there were some Assiniboin at fort La Butte [1] who were to leave for fort La Reine. We made ready in haste in order to profit by this chance and by so doing to secure protection against enemies. We passed by fort La Butte on the morning of the 27th, but the Assiniboin had just left. We had not let them know that we wanted to go with them. Two Mandan came forward who wanted to go and see my father and learn the road to our fort. We hastened our march somewhat and caught up with the Assiniboin at their encampment. There were over a hundred of them and we continued our route together.

On the 31st our scouts perceived thirty Sioux in ambush on our road. We all went at them together. They were

[1] A rendezvous of the Assiniboin, probably the Maison du Chien, or Dog Den butte, described by Elliott Coues as ' a conspicuous elevation on the edge of the Coteau du Missouri . . . a landmark for shaping one's direct course between Mouse river and the Missouri.'

furent fort surpris de voir tant de monde et se retirèrent en bon ordre, faisant face, de temps en temps, à ceux qui les approchoient un peu trop. Ils sçavoient bien à qui ils avoient affaire, connaissant les Assiniboels pour des lâches. Sitôt qu'ils nous aperçurent tous montés sur nos chevaux et que nous étions des François, ils se sauvèrent à grande hâte, ne regardant plus derrière eux. Nous n'avons eu personne de tué, mais plusieurs blessés. Nous ne sçavons pas ce qu'ils ont perdu de monde, sinon un homme qui se trouva parmi nous.

Nous nous rendîmes au village près de la montagne le 2 juin. Comme nos chevaux étoient fatigués, nous restâmes à marcher avec le village jusqu'au vingt. Nous prîmes un guide pour nous conduire au fort la Reine, où nous sommes arrivés, le 2 Juillet, au grand contentement de mon père, qui étoit très inquiet de nous, n'ayant pas été possible de lui donner de nos nouvelles depuis notre départ, et à notre

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greatly surprised to see so many people, and retired in good order, turning round and facing from time to time those who came too near them. They knew what kind of men they had to do with, for they knew the Assiniboin to be cowards. As soon as they perceived us, however, all mounted on our horses, and recognized us as Frenchmen, they ran off in great haste, never looking back. We had none killed, but several were wounded. We do not know what their losses were except that one of their men got amongst ours [and was captured].

We reached the village near the mountain on the 2nd of June. As our horses were tired we suspended our journey and remained in the village till the 20th. We then took a guide to conduct us to fort La Reine, at which we arrived on the 2nd of July, to the great delight of my father, who was very anxious about us, as we had had no chance of giving him any news of ourselves from the time of our departure—

grande satisfaction, nous voyant hors de peines, de périls et dangers.

[*Lettre de Monsieur de la Verendrye*]
[à Québec le 31 8bre 1744.]

Monseigneur

Les discours peu favorables ainsi que ce que la jalousie a pû insinuer d'être mandé à Votre Grandeur à l'occasion de l'entreprise que j'ai suivie depuis 1731 pour parvenir à la découverte de la Mer de l'Ouest et dont j'ay été informé, rendent le zèle dont j'ai toujours été animé pour le service et particulièrement pour cette découverte, d'autant plus sensible au ridicule que l'on m'y donne que l'on n'y attaque pas moins la pûreté des motifs qui faisoient seuls l'objet de mon entreprise et pour lequel toutes mes vues refléchissoient entièrement, je ne puis attribuer d'ailleurs, Monseigneur,

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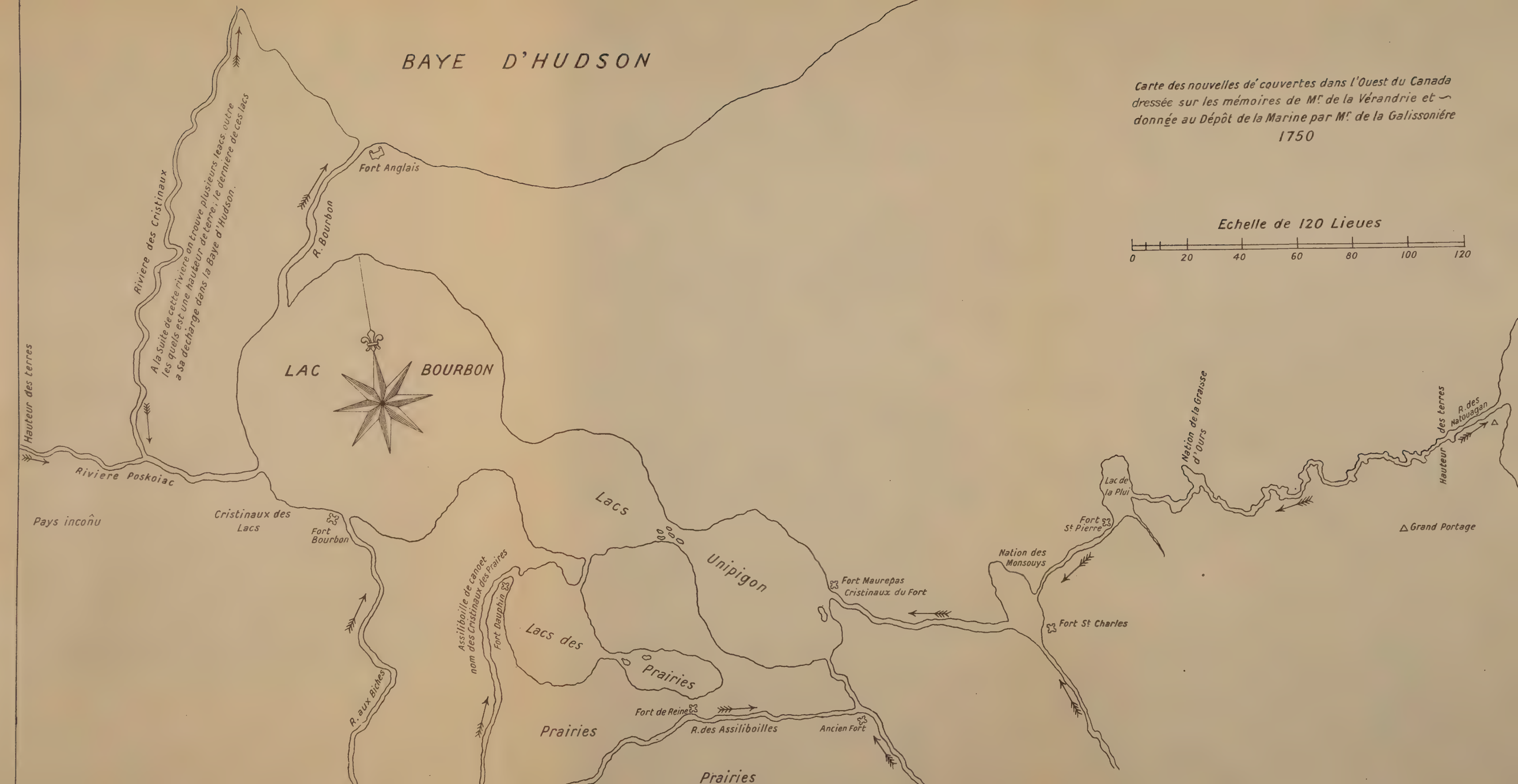
also to our own great satisfaction at seeing ourselves delivered from troubles, perils, and dangers.

La Vérendrye to Maurepas.

Quebec, October 31, 1744.

Monseigneur,

The unfavourable remarks and jealous insinuations that have reached Your Highness, as I have learnt, respecting the enterprise which I have pursued since 1731 for the discovery of the Western Sea, render the zeal by which I have always been animated for the King's service, and especially for that discovery, all the more a matter of ridicule from the fact that the purity of the motives which alone governed me in attempting that enterprise, and which entirely influenced all my views, has been attacked. I cannot, Monseigneur, attribute to any other cause than the calumnies that have


BAYE D'HUDSON
Carte des nouvelles découvertes dans l'Ouest du Canada dressée sur les mémoires de Mr de la Vérandrie et donnée au Dépôt de la Marine par Mr de la Galissonière 1750
Echelle de 120 Lieues
0 20 40 60 80 100 120
Fort Anglais
R. Bourbon
Riviere des Cristinaux
A la Suite de cette riviere on trouve plusieurs lacs outre les quels est une hauteur de terre; le derniere de ces lacs a Sa decharge dans la Baye d'Hudson.
LAC BOURBON
Hauteur des terres
Riviere Poskoiac
Pays inconû
Cristinaux des Lacs
Fort Bourbon
R. aux Biches
Assiliboille de canoet nom des Cristinaux des Praires
Fort Dauphin
Lacs
Unipigon
Lacs des Prairies
Prairies
Fort de Reine
R. des Assiliboilles
Ancien Fort
Prairies
Fort Maurepas Cristinaux du Fort
Nation des Monsouys
Fort St Pierre
Fort St Charles
Lac de la Plui
Nation de la Graisse d'Ours
Hauteur des terres
R. des Natouagan
△ Grand Portage

qu'aux calomnies qui vous ont été dites ou mandées sur mon compte. la mortiffication que je reçois aujourd'hui de n'avoir point eû part à la promotion de cette année quoique je fus l'officier d'ont l'ancienneté et les services pouvoient le plus flater dans cette occasion de la justice et des bontés de Votre Grandeur. Je sens, Monseigneur, tout l'intérêt que j'ai de m'en justiffier auprès de vous, et je ne puis vous en donner de plus grande preuve que la liberté que j'ose prendre de vous supplier d'agréer le mémoire abrégé que j'ai l'honneur de joindre, qui contient la conduite que j'ai observée depuis 1731 pour parvenir à cette découverte, les accidents dont je n'ai pû me garantir et les oppositions qu'il ne m'a pas été possible de pouvoir surmonter pour en accélérer plutôt la perfection. Si j'osois me flater, Monseigneur, que vous voulussiez bien être persuadé de la sincérité et du vrai qui font la base de ce mémoire, ce qui regarde l'aisance que l'on a mandé à Votre Grandeur que je me suis procuré dans

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been reported to you in regard to me, verbally or in writing, the mortification I experience to-day in not sharing in the promotions of this year although I was the officer whose services and seniority gave him the strongest ground on this occasion to rely on the justice and favour of Your Highness.

I feel, Monseigneur, how much to my interest it is to justify myself in your eyes, and I cannot give any greater proof of it than the liberty I venture to take of begging you to accept the abridged memoir I have the honour to annex to this communication, which sets forth the line of conduct I have followed since 1731 in order to arrive at that discovery, the accidents which I could not prevent, and the oppositions I could not overcome, anxious as I was to hasten its accomplishment. If I dared to flatter myself, Monseigneur, that you would please to be persuaded of the sincerity and the truth which form the foundation of this memoir, what has been told Your Highness respecting the wealth that

les diférens Postes que j'ai établis, se trouveroit aisément détruite par la scituation où je me trouve qui me fournit à peine le moyen de satisfaire aux emprunts que j'ai été obligé de faire pour cette entreprise ; c'est au surplus, Monseigneur, l'objet qui a de tout tems moins fait celui de mes désirs et quoique je sois plus indigent que je ne l'étois avant le commencement de cette découverte je m'en serois trouvé entièrement dédommagé si les soins et les attentions que j'y ai aporté m'avoient pû mériter les bontés de Votre Grandeur et que j'ose espérer si elle veut bien les accorder à neuf blessures que j'ai sur le corps à 39 années de service tant en France qu'en cette colonie et aux peines et fatigues que j'ai essuyées depuis 13 ans pour parvenir aux établissemens que j'ai faits dans ces endroits où personne n'avoit encore pénétré qui formeront toujours une augmentation considérable de commerce à la Colonie, si l'on ne peut parvenir

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I have acquired in the different posts that I have established would easily be disproved by the situation in which I actually am, scarcely able to pay back the sums I was obliged to borrow for that enterprise.

Money, Monseigneur, was moreover always a secondary consideration with me, and though I am poorer to-day than I was before I began my explorations, I should consider myself completely compensated if the care and attention I have devoted to the business had merited me the favour of Your Highness, as I hope they yet may, if you will grant some reward to nine wounds that I have on my body, thirty-nine years of service in France and in this colony, and to the difficulties and fatigues that I have endured during the last thirteen years in order to create the establishments which I have made in places where no person before myself had ever penetrated, which will effect a considerable augmentation in the trade of the colony, even if no one fully

entièrement à trouver la Mer de l'Ouest et pour lesquels je n'ai occasionné aucune dépense à Sa Majesté.

Je suis avec un très profond respect, Monseigneur

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur

VARENNES DE LAVERENDRYE.

A Quebec le 31 octobre 1744.

Memoire du S[ieur] de la Verendrye au sujet des établissemens pour parvenir à la découverte de la Mer de l'Ouest et dont il a été chargé par M[onsieu]r le Marquis de Beauharnois, Gouverneur Général de la Nouvelle France en l'année 1731.

Joint à la lettre de M[onsieur] de la Veranderie du 31 8bre 1744.

La gloire du Roi et le bien de la Colonie ont toujours été les seuls motifs qui m'ont engagés dans cette entreprise.

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succeeds in discovering the Western Sea, and for which I did not involve His Majesty in any expense.

I am, with very profound respect, Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient Servant,

VARENNES DE LA VÉRENDRYE.

Report of the Sieur de la Vérendrye on the subject of the establishments made by him with the object of effecting the discovery of the Western Sea, under instructions from Monsieur the Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor-General of New France, in the year 1731.

Annexed to the letter of Monsieur de la Vérendrye of the 31st of October, 1744.

The glory of the King and the advantage of the colony have always been the only motives which have actuated me

Personne n'ignore que le Canada est très pauvre, peu de marchands sont en état de pouvoir faire des avances surtout pour une entreprise de cette nature aiant besoin de faire leurs retours tous les ans. Sur des mémoires que j'ai eu l'honneur de représenter à M[onsieur] le Général au sujet des découvertes et établissemens nécessaires à faire pour parvenir à la Mer de l'Ouest, il eût la bonté de m'honorer de ses ordres pour y aller travailler efficacement, je partis de Montréal le 8 Juin 1731 dans l'intention de lui donner des marques de mon parfait attachement pour le service et auquel je borne toute mon ambition.

J'associai plusieurs personnes avec moi afin de pouvoir plus facilement fournir aux dépenses que cette entreprise pouvoit occasionner et je pris en passant à Missilimakinac le R[évérend] P[ère] Messaiger Jésuite pour notre Missionnaire.

Nous arrivâmes le 26 Août au grand portage du Lac

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in this enterprise. Everyone is aware that Canada is very poor; few merchants are in a situation to be able to make advances, especially for an enterprise of that nature, being obliged to make their returns every year.

On the strength of certain memoirs which I had the honour to submit to the General on the subject of the explorations and establishments which it was necessary to make in order to reach the Western Sea, he was kind enough to honour me with his orders to go and carry out the project. I left Montreal on the 8th of June 1731 intending to mark my perfect attachment to the service to which I confine all my ambition.

I associated several persons with myself in order the more easily to provide for the expenses which the enterprise might involve, and in passing Michilimackinac I took the Reverend Father Mesaiger, Jesuit, with me as our missionary.

We arrived on the twenty-sixth of August at the Grand

Supérieur qui est à 15 lieues au Sud-Sud-Ouest de Kamanistigouïa.

1^er^ Empêchement.

Le 27, tout notre monde épouvanté de la longueur du portage qui est de trois lieues se mutina, et tous me demandèrent avec de grandes instances à relâcher, mais à l'aide de notre Père Missionnaire je trouvai le moyen de gagner quelqu'un parmi le nombre de mes engagés pour aller avec mon neveu la Jemeraye (qui étoit mon second) et mon fils établir le Poste du Lac la Pluye, j'en eus assez pour équiper quatre moyens canots, je fis faire sur le champ le portage et leur donnai un bon guide.

J'ai été ensuite obligé d'hyverner à Kamanastigouïa ce qui m'a fait un tort notable tant pour le payement des Engagés

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Portage of Lake Superior, which is fifteen leagues south-south-west of Kaministikwia.

First Impediment.

On the twenty-seventh all our people, in dismay at the length of the portage, three leagues, mutinied and loudly demanded that I should turn back, but with the aid of our Missionary Father I was able to induce one man out of the number of those I had hired to go with my nephew La Jemeraye (who was my second in command), and my son, to establish the post of Rainy lake. I had enough to equip four medium-sized canoes. I had the portage made at once and gave them a good guide.

I was afterwards obliged to winter at Kaministikwia, which was a great loss to me as regards both the payment

et les marchandises dont j'étois chargé sans aucune espérance de pouvoir rien retirer de tous ses frais qui étoient considérables.

Le 29 May suivant à l'arrivée des canots que j'avois [173
envoyé dans les terres, j'envoïai mon fils aîné conduire à Missilimakinac le peu de pelleteries qui m'étoit venu et pour me raporter les effets qui devoient me venir de Montréal.

Le 8 Juin nous partîmes, le Père Missionnaire, mon neveu et deux de mes enfans avec sept canots pour suivre ma découverte, j'eus grand soin de faire accomoder tous les portages par où il nous faloit passer, enfin nous arrivâmes le 14 Juillet au fort S[ain]t Pierre qui est à la décharge du Lac la Pluye que nos françois avoient bâtis l'automne précédente, plus de 50 canots de sauvages nous accompagnèrent et nous conduisirent au fort Saint Charles.

Le 12 Novembre notre convoy de Missilimakinac arriva

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of the hired men and the goods that I had on my hands, without any hope of recovering any portion of the expense, which was considerable.

On the twenty-ninth of May following, on the arrival [173
of the canoes which I had sent inland, I sent my eldest son to convey to Michilimackinac the small amount of peltries that had come to me and bring back the goods which were to come to me from Montreal.

On the eighth of June we left, the Missionary Father, my nephew and two of my sons, with seven canoes, to proceed with my discovery. I took great care to improve all the portages by which we had to pass, and we finally arrived on the fourteenth of July at fort St. Pierre at the outlet of Rainy lake, which our Frenchmen had built the previous autumn. More than fifty canoes of savages accompanied us and conducted us to fort St. Charles.

On the twelfth of November our convoy from Michili-

sur les glaces aïant eté obligé de laisser leurs canots à dix lieues de notre fort.

[1733] Le Printems suivant comme j'avois formé le dessein d'aller établir un fort à la portée des Assiniboels, mes intéressés me représentèrent que je ne pouvois rien entreprendre que les canots que j'envoïois à Kamanistigouïa et à Missilimakinac ne fussent de retour. Le Père Missionnaire s'étant trouvé très incommodé prit la résolution de retourner à Montréal.

J'envoiai dans le même tems mon neveu rendre compte à M[onsieur] le Général des établissemens que j'avois fait et de la manière favorable dont j'avois été reçu de toutes les nations et des nouvelles connoissances que les sauvages m'avoient données dans le cours de l'hyver.

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mackinac arrived on the ice, having been obliged to leave their canoes ten leagues from the fort.

[1733] The following spring, as I had formed the design of going and establishing a fort within reach of the Assiniboin, those who were interested with me represented to me that I could not undertake anything until the canoes that I was sending to Kaministikwia and Michilimackinac should have returned. The Missionary Father, finding himself very unwell, resolved to return to Montreal.

I sent my nephew at the same time to give an account to the General of the establishments I had made and of the favourable manner in which I had been received by all the tribes and the new information that I had received from the savages in the course of the winter.

2^e^ Empêchement.

J'attendois 4 canots que j'avois laissé à Kamanistigouïa l'automne précédente, il en arriva un alége pour me faire sçavoir que celuy que mes intéressés avoient laissé pour faire la traite et garder les marchandises avoit tout consommé. Le 27 7^bre^. les canots de Missilimakinac arrivérent très mal assortis de façon que je me trouvai très endêté et dans l'impossibilité de pouvoir rien entreprendre.

Comme les Cristinaux du Nepigon ainsi que les Assiniboels me demandoient avec instance, j'envoiai mon fils aîné au commencement de Mars dans le bas de la rivière que nous apellons aujourd'huy Maurepas et qui est dans le voisinage de ces nations, cette rivière est la décharge de toutes les eaux qui viennent de la hauteur des terres ce qui en forme une très grande et qui va se rendre dans celle du Népigon.

Second Impediment.

I was waiting for four canoes that I had left at Kaministikwia the previous autumn. One arrived light to let me know that the man my partners had left to carry on trade and protect the goods had consumed everything. On the twenty-seventh of September the canoes from Michilimackinac arrived very ill supplied, so that I found myself deeply in debt and unable to undertake anything.

As the Cree of the Nipigon as well as the Assiniboin urged me very strongly, I sent my eldest son in the beginning of March down the river which we now call Maurepas and which is in the neighbourhood of those tribes. That river is the outlet for all the waters that come from the height of land ; it consequently has great volume, and it flows into the Nipigon.[1]

[1] The Maurepas is Winnipeg river, and Nipigon is one of the many variants of the name for Lake Winnipeg.

[1734] Je fis diférer le Printems le départ de mes canots attendant mon fils qui arriva le 27 May voiant le mauvais état de mes affaires, je mis tout en bon ordre et pris le parti de descendre à Montréal, je donnai commission à mon fils sitôt l'arrivée de mon neveu, d'aller avec trois canots bien équipés pour établir le fort Maurepas à la portée des Cristinaux et Assiniboels.

J'arrivai à Montréal le 25 Août, j'y trouvai M[onsieur] le Général à qui j'eus l'honneur de rendre compte des établissemens que j'avois fait et de ceux que j'avois espérance de faire par la suite pour le bien de la colonie par la grande étendue de pays que j'avois découverts et qui avoient été inconnue jusques alors.

[1735] Le Printems, étant chargé des ordres de M[onsieur] le Général, je partis de Montréal le 6 Juin et me rendis au fort S[ain]t Charles Lac des Bois le 6 Septembre, je le trouvai bien dénué de vivres sans espérance de folle-avoines par la

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[1734] When spring came I delayed the departure of my canoes, awaiting my son, who arrived on the twenty-seventh of May. Seeing the bad condition of my affairs I put everything into good order and resolved to go down to Montreal. I commissioned my son to go immediately on the arrival of my nephew with three well-equipped canoes to establish fort Maurepas within reach of the Cree and Assiniboin.

I arrived at Montreal on the twenty-fifth of August and found our General there, to whom I had the honour of giving an account of the establishments I had made and of those which I hoped to make later for the good of the colony, through the great extent of territory previously unknown which I had discovered.

[1735] In the spring I left Montreal on the sixth of June, bearing orders from the General, and reached fort St. Charles on the Lake of the Woods on the sixth of September, and found it very destitute of provisions and without hope from the wild

grande abondance des eaux. Sitôt mon arrivée j'envoiai mon neveu au fort Maurepas que mon fils avoit établi l'automne précédent, je l'équipai de ce que j'avois aporté pour ma découverte dans l'espérance que les intéressés me rendroient les avances que je faisois pour eux aiant dessein d'aller joindre mon neveu sitôt l'arrivée des canots, j'avois avant mon départ donné à mes marchands Equipeurs la traite et le commerce des Postes que j'établissois les intéressés précédents étans à bout de leur terme.

Le Père Auneau étant dans la résolution de me suivre, j'attendis inutilement mes canots, ils étoient restés au grand portage par la mauvaise manœuvre du conducteur, ce qui m'obligea de donner tout ce qui me restoit pour faire subsister mon monde pendant l'hyvert.

Je me trouvai le Printems suivant dénué de tout, j'avois [1736] envoyé deux de mes enfans avec deux hommes pour la garde

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oats on account of the height of the water. Immediately on my arrival I sent my nephew to fort Maurepas, which my son had established the previous autumn. I equipped him with what I had brought for my own exploratory work, in the hope that my partners would repay the advances I was making for them, intending to go and join my nephew as soon as the canoes arrived. I had before my departure [from Montreal] assigned to my supply merchants the trade and commerce of the posts I was establishing, the parties previously interested being at the end of their term.

Father Aulneau having decided to follow, I waited in vain for my canoes. They had remained on the grand portage through the bad management of the conductor, and I was consequently obliged to give all I had left to furnish subsistence to my people during the winter.

In the following spring I found myself destitute of every- [1736] thing. I had sent two of my sons with two men to take care

du fort Maurepas pendant l'hyvert en attendant mon retour, ils me surprirent par leur arrivée le 4 Juin et m'apportérent la triste nouvelle de la mort de mon neveu La Jemeraye et de la disette de vivres dans laquelle ils s'étoient trouvés ayant laissé la charge de leurs canots au portage de la Savanne à vingt lieues du poste ou j'étois.

3^e^ Empêchement.

J'avois bien du monde dans le fort et point de vivres ce qui me détermina à envoyer en diligence trois canots pour nous aporter du secours et quelques marchandises le R[évérend] P[ère] prit sur le champ la résolution d'aller à Missilimakinac, il me demanda mon fils aîné dans l'espérance où il étoit que son voiage seroit prompt, il ne me fût pas possible de m'y opposer son parti étoit absolument pris, ils embarquèrent le 8 Juin et furent tous massacrés par les

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of fort Maurepas during the winter while awaiting my return. They surprised me by arriving on the fourth of June and brought me the sad news of the death of my nephew La Jemeraye and of their lack of provisions, they having left the load of their canoes at the Savanne portage, twenty leagues from the post where I was.

Third Impediment.

I had many men in the fort and no provisions, which determined me to send in all haste three canoes to bring us succour and also some goods. The Reverend Father resolved at once to go to Michilimackinac; he asked me to let my eldest son go with him in the hope that the journey would be quickly accomplished. It was impossible for me to make any opposition as his mind was absolutely made up. They embarked on the eighth of June, and were all massacred by

Scioux à sept lieues de notre fort par la plus grande de toutes les trahisons, j'y ai perdu mon fils, le R[évérend] P[ère] et tous mes françois que je regretterai toute ma vie.

L'automne suivant il ne me vînt qu'un très petit secours, je manquois des choses les plus nécessaires ce qui me fit prendre la résolution, à la sollicitation des sauvages de descendre à Montréal, pour porter leurs paroles, me demandant avec instance du secours pour se vanger de l'indigne coup des Scioux.

Le 6 de Juin je partis aiant laissé tout en bon ordre tant [1737] pour les françois que pour les sauvages, j'arrivai à Montréal le 24 Août, j'allai saluer M[onsieur] le Général et lui rendis compte des raisons qui m'avoient obligé à descendre, il eût la bonté de m'aprouver et me fis l'honneur de me continuer ses ordres pour la poursuite de la découverte dont j'étois chargé.

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the Sioux in the most treacherous manner seven leagues from our fort. In that calamity I lost my son, the Reverend Father, and all my Frenchmen, to my life-long regret.

In the following autumn only a very slight amount of succour arrived. I lacked the most necessary things, and at the solicitation of the savages I determined to go down to Montreal to speak on their behalf, for they were urgently demanding help that they might take revenge for the shameful deed of the Sioux.

On the sixth of June I started, having left everything [1737] in good order, both for the French and for the savages, and arrived at Montreal on the twenty-fourth of August. I went to call upon the General and explained the circumstances which had forced me to come down: he was good enough to approve my action, and did me the honour of continuing his instructions that I should pursue the discovery that had been committed to me.

[1738] Le 18 Juin suivant je partis aiant pris toutes mesures nécessaires pour pouvoir continuer mon entreprise et je me rendis au fort S[ain]t Charles Lac des Bois le 2. 7^{bre}., après y avoir mis tout en bon ordre à la sollicitation des sauvages, j'y laissai un de mes enfans ; je repartis avec six canots bien équipés et arrivai au fort Maurepas le 23, le lendemain je poursuivis ma route et entrai dans la Riviére des Assiniboels qui est à 15 lieues du fort, je montai ensuite environ 60 lieues et ne pouvant aller plus loin les eaux étant trop basses, j'arrêtai et fit bâtir en cet endroit le 3 Octobre le fort La Reine.

Le S[ieu]r Delamarque, son frère et dix hommes dans deux canots vinrent me joindre le 8 dans l'intention de me suivre aux Mantanes après que le fort et la maison eurent été achevés, je choisis vingt hommes que je munis de ce qui pouvoit nous être nécessaire et je pris plusieurs sauvages pour nous guider. Notre petite bande étoit composée de

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[1738] On the eighteenth of June following I left, having taken all necessary measures for enabling me to continue my enterprise, and reached fort St. Charles on the Lake of the Woods on the second of September. After having put everything in good order I left one of my sons there at the request of the savages, and started again with six canoes well equipped and arrived at fort Maurepas on the twenty-third. On the following day I pursued my route and entered the river of the Assiniboin, which is fifteen leagues from the fort. I then ascended the river sixty leagues, and not being able to go farther, the water being too low, I stopped and built fort La Reine at that place on the third of October.

Sieur de Lamarque, his brother and ten men, in two canoes, came and joined me on the eighth, intending to follow me to the country of the Mandan after the fort and the house had been finished. I chose twenty men whom I provided with what might be necessary, and I took several savages to guide us. Our little band was composed of twenty

vingt françois, M[onsieur] Lamarque, son frère, deux de mes enfans, mon domestique, un esclave, quatre sauvages avec leurs femmes, nous nous rendîmes aux Mantannes après avoir essuyé bien des misères.

4^e^ *Empêchement.*

Nous trouvâmes un village de cent deux cabannes d'Assiniboels dans les Prairies qui nous accompagnèrent jusques aux Mantannes, le jour de mon arrivée, il me fût pris une cassette par un Assiniboel et un sac où étoient les présens des sauvages et cela par la faute de nos françois et l'Assiniboel a disparu et s'est retiré dans les Prairies.

J'avois résolu de passer l'hyvert chez les Mantannes et m'étoit assuré d'un interprête après que je l'eus bien payé il décampa avec les Assiniboels ce qui me fit prendre la résolution (joint à ce que j'avois perdu) de m'en retourner à mon fort laissant seulement deux françois chez les Mantannes

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French, Monsieur Lamarque, his brother, two of my sons, my servant, a slave, four savages with their wives ; we got to the Mandan after having endured a lot of misery.

Fourth Impediment.

We found a village of a hundred and two lodges of Assiniboin in the prairies, and they all accompanied us as far as the Mandan. On the day of my arrival a box was stolen from me by an Assiniboin, and likewise a bag in which were the presents destined for the savages, and that through the fault of our Frenchmen ; the Assiniboin disappeared and escaped into the prairies.

I had resolved to spend the winter with the Mandan and had procured an interpreter, but after I had paid him well he decamped with the Assiniboin, which (joined to the loss I had sustained), determined me to return to my post, leaving only two Frenchmen with the Mandan to learn

pour y apprendre la langue et leur laissai une instruction pour me donner les connoissances que je voulois avoir, je partis quoy que très malade dans l'espérance de me mieux porter en chemin, j'éprouvai tout le contraire étant dans la plus rude saison de l'année, je me rendis le 11 Février avec toute la misère possible et on ne peut souffrir davantage, il n'y a que la mort qui puisse nous délivrer de pareilles peines.

Le 10 Avril j'envoiai mon fils le Ch[evali]er afin de prendre connoissance de quelqu'endroit favorable à construire un fort dans de Lac des Prairies suivant la demande que les Cristinaux de cet endroit m'en avoient faite et pour se rendre ensuite à la rivière du Poskioac, en examiner dans le bas à

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their language; and I left them instructions to give me the information I wanted to get, after which I started, though very unwell, hoping to get better on the way. It turned out quite otherwise, however, the season being the worst of the year. I reached my destination on the eleventh of February in the most miserable condition possible: it would be impossible to suffer more; death alone can deliver us from such distress.

On the tenth of April I sent my son the Chevalier to look out for a suitable place in which to build a fort on the Lake of the Prairies, in accordance with a request made of me by the Cree of that neighbourhood; after which he was to go to the Poskiac river[1] and make an examination of the

[1] The Saskatchewan appears as Rivière Poskaiao on the 1750 map, and Rivière Poskoiac on another La Vérendrye map; R. de Poskoyac on Philippe Buache's map of 1754. Several other variants of the name will be found on maps of the latter half of the eighteenth century. Alexander Henry, in his *Travels and Adventures* (1775), says: 'We gained the mouth of the River de Bourbon, Pasquayah, or Sascatchiwaine.' The Cree name, says Dr. James Bain, 'is derived from Paskquaw, a prairie or desert, as its course is through the great plain to the east of the Rocky Mountains.' The name has been transferred, altered to Pasquia, to a tributary joining the Saskatchewan from the south. The Hudson Bay Railway crosses the Saskatchewan at The Pas, near or at the mouth of the Pasquia. La Vérendrye's present statement confirms the identification of Rivière Blanche as the Saskatchewan. See footnote, p. 357.

l'entrée du fond du Lac Nepigon et voir s'il n'y auroit pas lieu d'y trouver un endroit avantageux pour y construire un second fort. [1739]

Nos canots partirent le 27 May pour aller au grand Portage et y prendre les effets que mon équipeur m'avoit promis d'y envoyer. il ne pût le faire et mes gens restèrent dix huit jours à attendre et jeûnèrent pendant ce tems là malgré eux.

5^e^ *Empêchement.*

Ils prirent le parti d'aller à Missilimakinac et en arrivant on leur présenta un ordre de Monsieur L'Intendant à la requête de mon équipeur pour saisir la valeur d'une somme de quatre mille livres quoiqu'il m'eût manqué de parole.

Dans l'embarras où mes gens se trouvèrent, ils s'adres-

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lower portion at the entrance to the extremity of Lake Nipigon and see if it would not be possible to find there an advantageous position for the erection of a second fort.[1] [1739]

Our canoes left on the twenty-seventh of May to go to the Grand Portage and get the goods that my furnisher had promised to send there. He was not able to do it, and my men waited eighteen days and during that time had very little to eat.

Fifth Impediment.

They decided to go to Michilimackinac, and on their arrival there they were served with an order from the Intendant, issued at the request of my furnisher, for the seizure of goods to the value of four thousand livres, although the man had broken his word to me.[2]

In the straits in which my people found themselves they

[1] This was fort Bourbon, afterward built on Cedar lake, a few miles above the mouth of the Saskatchewan.

[2] See document in Appendix, dated June 12, 1739.

sèrent à M[onsieur] le Commandant de Missilimakinac et lui représentèrent les risques que je courrois dans les terres si je n'étois pas secouru, il leur fit trouver quelque peu de marchandises très chères et vinrent me rejoindre le 20 Octobre dans trois canots alège et très forts de monde. Je me trouvai fort en peine aiant bien à payer et à faire vivre et obligé d'abandonner l'entreprise de deux forts que j'avois dessein d'établir et le tout faute de marchandises.

[1740] Me voyant sans aucunes ressources, je pris le parti de descendre à Montréal pour avoir l'honneur de représenter à M[onsieur] le Général la triste scituation dans laquelle je me trouvois, je laissai le commandement du fort à mon fils le Chevalier avec une ample instruction de ce qu'il avoit à faire pendant mon absence.

J'arrivai à Missilimakinac le 16. Juillet, et j'envoiai un équipement à mes enfans qui étoient dans les terres, et je

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appealed to the commandant at Michilimackinac, and represented to him the risk I should run in the interior of the country if I did not receive assistance. He helped them to get a small quantity of goods at a very high price, and they came back to me on the twentieth of October in three canoes with a very small cargo but a large number of men. I found myself in a very difficult position, having men to pay and food to provide for them, and compelled to abandon the plan I had for erecting establishments, and all for lack of goods.

[1740] Seeing myself without resource I decided to go down to Montreal and represent to the General the sad situation I was in; so I left the command of the fort with my son the Chevalier, giving him ample instruction as to what he was to do in my absence.

I arrived at Michilimackinac on the sixteenth of July, whence I sent an equipment to my sons who were in the

donnai ordre à l'aîné de se rendre chez les Mantannes dès l'automne avec deux françois dont l'un est interprête ; je lui envoiai tout ce que pouvoit luy être nécessaire pour son voiage et de s'assurer chez les Mantanes de guides pour se faire conduire à la Mer.

Je me rendis enfin le 25 Août à Montréal et je trouvai en y arrivant que l'on m'intentoit au sujet des Postes que j'avois établis, un procès moy qui les ai en horreur n'en aïant jamais eu de ma vie, je m'accommodai à ma grande perte, n'ayant cependant, à beaucoup près, aucun tort.

Je descendis à Québec où j'eus l'honneur de rendre compte à M[onsieur] le Général de mon voyage, il eût la bonté de m'offrir sa maison, j'y restai et le suivis le printems suivant à Montréal, il me fit encore la grâce de m'honnorer de ses ordres pour retourner à la poursuite de ma découverte.

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interior, and gave orders to the eldest to go the beginning of autumn to the country of the Mandan with two Frenchmen, one of them an interpreter. I sent him everything that he could require for his journey and also for the securing of guides among the Mandan to conduct him to the Sea.

Finally I arrived at Montreal on the twenty-fifth of August, and found there that a suit was being brought against me, who have a horror of such things, never having had anything in my life to do with them, in regard to the posts I had established. I settled the matter to my great loss, though I was far from having done anyone any wrong.[1]

I went down to Quebec, where I had the honour of giving an account of my travels to the General, who had the kindness to offer me the hospitality of his house. I remained there and next spring followed him to Montreal, and again he did me the favour of honouring me with his orders to return and pursue my discovery.

[1] See Hocquart's letter of September 27, 1741, in Appendix.

M[onsieur] Delaporte étant à Québec dans le tems, j'eus l'honneur de l'informer de toutes mes traverses et malgré le dérangement où je me trouvois dans mes affaires, l'envie et la jalousie de plusieurs personnes les ont engagés à en imposer à la Cour, insinuants dans leurs lettres que je ne pensois qu'à amasser de gros biens.

Si plus de quarante mille livres de dètes . . . que j'ai sur le corps sont un avantage je puis me flater d'être fort riche et le serai devenu par la suite beaucoup plus si j'avois continué. je suis mal connu ce n'a jamais été le bien qui m'ait fait agir, je me suis sacriffié avec mes enfans pour le service de Sa Majesté et le bien de la colonie, on pourra connoître par la suite les avantages qui en peuvent résulter.

Au surplus ne compte-t-on pour rien le grand nombre de gens à qui cette entreprise fait gagner la vie, les esclaves

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Monsieur Delaporte[1] being at Quebec at the time, I had the honour of telling him of all the contrarieties I had suffered, and how, in spite of my financial difficulties, the envy and jealousy of several persons had induced them to mislead the Court, insinuating in their letters that my only object was to amass wealth.

If debts that I have on my shoulders to the amount of more than forty thousand livres are an advantage, I can flatter myself that I am very rich, and if I had gone on I should have become richer still. People do not know me: money has never been my object; I have sacrificed myself and my sons for the service of His Majesty and the good of the colony; what advantages shall result from my toils the future may tell.

Besides, should no account be taken of the great number of persons to whom this enterprise means a living, of the

[1] François de la Porte, Sieur de Louvigny (1685–1749). Son of Louis de la Porte, at one time commandant at Michilimackinac, and who was lost in the wreck of *Le Chameau*, near Louisbourg, 1725.

que cela procure au pays et toutes les pelleteries dont les Anglois proffitoient cy devant.

Dans tous mes malheurs, j'ai la consolation de voir que M[onsieu]r le Général pénètre mes vues et reconnois la droiture de mes intentions et continue de me rendre justice malgré les oppositions qu'on voudroit y mettre.

Pour reprendre la suite de mon discours duquel je ne me [1741] suis . . . que par la peine que je ressens continuellement des mauvais discours que l'on a débités sur mon compte je suis parti de Montréal le 26. Juin avec le R[évérend] P[ère] Coquart qu'on m'avoit donné pour Missionnaire.

Dans le séjour que je fus obligé de faire à Missilimakinac, la jalousie s'attacha contre le P[ère] Coquart et l'empêcha

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slaves[1] that are obtained for the country, and the furs of which formerly the English got the benefit ?

In all my misfortunes I have the consolation of seeing that the General enters into my views, recognizes the uprightness of my intentions, and continues to do me justice in spite of the opposition of certain parties.

To resume my narrative, from which I was turned aside [1741] by the pain I continually feel at the uncharitable remarks that have been made and circulated about me, I started from Montreal on the twenty-sixth of June with the Reverend Father Coquart, who had been assigned to me as a missionary.

During the stay I was obliged to make at Michilimackinac there was some jealousy in regard to Father Coquart, which

[1] On the Panis, and Indian slavery, see references under ' Slavery ' in the General Index to *R.S.C. Trans.* ; also under ' Slaves and Slavery ' in *Wis. Hist. Coll.* vols. xvi. and xix. ; and under ' Slaves ' in *Michigan Pioneer and Hist. Coll.* vol. xxxiii. Tanguay, in his *Dictionnaire Généalogique*, under the title ' Panis,' mentions two Indian slaves belonging to La Vérendrye who died in the Montreal General Hospital—one Joseph (1736–55) and the other Marie (1736–56). Another Pani, given by Pierre de la Vérendrye to the mission at Michilimackinac, is recorded as baptized there in 1750 ; and in 1754, at the same mission, Pierre was a witness to the baptism of another of his slaves. See also footnote, p. 135.

de nous suivre au grand regret de tout mon monde et de moy en particulier, cependant par les invitations de M[onsieu]r le Général nous le possédons aujourd'huy au grand contentement de tout le monde.

Le 16. 7^{bre} j'arrivai au fort S[ain]t Charles Lac des Bois, j'y trouvai tout en bon état, excepté les sauvages qui étoient très animés pour la guerre, je leur parlai avec des présens qu'ils acceptèrent et me promirent de ny point aller ainsi que les Cristinaux que je trouvai sur ma route, ils m'avoient tous promis la même chose ; mais de mauvais esprits leur ont fait fausser leur parole.

Le 13. Octobre j'arrivai au fort La Reine, j'y trouvai mon fils aîné qui étoit de retour des Mantannes, n'aïant pû passer outre faute de guide, il me remit une couverture de coton de la façon des blancs qui sont à la mer, que j'ai envoyé à M[onsieu]r le Général.

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prevented his following us, to the great regret of all my people and of myself in particular ; however, through request made by the General we have him now, to the great satisfaction of everybody.

On the sixteenth of September I arrived at fort St. Charles on the Lake of the Woods, and found everything there in good order except that the savages were very keen for war. I spoke to them and handed out presents, which they accepted, promising me not to go to war ; and I followed the same course with the Cree whom I met on the way. They had all promised me the same thing, but some mischief-makers have caused them to break their word.

On the thirteenth of October I reached fort La Reine. There I found my eldest son, who had returned from the Mandan, not having been able to proceed further for want of a guide. He gave me a coverlet of cotton of the manufacture of the whites who live on the coast, which I sent to the General.

Je le renvoïai sur le champ pour établir le fort Dauphin au Lac des Prairies.

J'avois aussi donné mes ordres pour établir le fort Bourbon dans le fond du Lac Népigon à la décharge de la grande rivière du Poskoyac.

Le 29. Avril j'envoyai deux de mes enfans aux Mantannes [1742] bien équipés de tout ce qui pouvoit être nécessaire pour leur découverte et pour y attendre les gens de chevaux comme je l'ai déjà marqué dans mon dernier journal.

Je n'ai reçû de leurs nouvelles que par eux mêmes après quinze mois d'absence, mon fils le Che[valie]r en a fait un petit journal.

L'on peut bien penser que tous ces voiages à plusieurs [1743] reprises ne se sont pas faites sans bien de la dépense, les sauvages de tous les postes des terres se sont envoyés des parolles pour aller ensemble fraper sur les Scioux, je n'ai rien épargné pour rompre leurs desseins sans y pouvoir

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I sent him back at once to establish fort Dauphin on the Lake of the Prairies. I had also given orders for the establishment of fort Bourbon at the far end of Lake Nipigon at the mouth of the great Poskoyac river.

On the twenty-ninth of April I sent two of my sons to [1742] the Mandan, well equipped with everything necessary for their exploration, there to await the Gens des Chevaux, as I have already observed in my last journal.

I got no news from them till their return after fifteen months' absence; my son the Chevalier has made a little journal of what they did.

It will readily be imagined that all these journeys so [1743] often repeated were not made without much expense. The savages of all the inland posts sent word to one another to make a simultaneous attack on the Sioux. I made every possible effort to get them to abandon their design, but

reussir malgré tous les présens que j'ai donné et fait donner à ce sujet ; elles sont frapées à leur grande perte des gens qui les attendoient et qui étoient en fort comme je leur avois dit, l'on ne pourra de longtems pacifier toutes ces nations aiant de mortels ennemis de tout tems.

A Mrs. de Beauharnois et Hocquart.

A V[ersail]les le 26 Avril 1745.

Mrs.

J'ay receu vos Lettres des 14 et 21 8^{bre} d[erni]er avec les pièces qui y estoient jointes.

Il n'est pas douteux que si le projet quavoit formé M. le M[arqu]is de Beauharnois de faire detruire une partie des Etablissemens que les Anglois ont fait du costé de la baye d'hudson a esté executé avec succés, cela n'eloigne les vües d'agrandissement qu'ils pouvoient avoir dans cette partie de

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without success, in spite of all the presents which I gave and caused to be given for that purpose. To their great loss they fell upon people who were awaiting them and who were in strength as I had told them. It will take a long time to pacify all these tribes who from time immemorial have been deadly enemies.

Maurepas to Beauharnois and Hocquart.

Versailles, April 26, 1745.

Messieurs,

I received your letters of the 14th and 21st of October last with their enclosures.

There is no doubt that, if the plan formed by the Marquis de Beauharnois for the destruction of some of the posts made by the English in Hudson Bay has been successfully carried out, the effect will be to discourage any views they may have of territorial aggrandizement in that part of the

la Colonie. Et le Roy attend avec d'autant plus d'impatience des nouvelles de ce qui se sera passé a cet egard, que S.M. a lieu d'esperer qu'au moyen des precautions que vous aurés prises chacun en ce qui vous concerne, elle aura lieu d'en estre satisfaite. . . .

J'ay examiné le Journal que le fils du Sr de La veranderie a remis l'année derniere a M. le M[arqu]is de Beauharnois des progrés de la decouverte de la mer de l'oüest. Mais il s'en faut beaucoup que j'y aye trouvé quelque chose de satisfaisant à cet egard, ni rien qui puisse justiffier les vües du Sr de Laveranderie dans cette entreprise, puisque ce journal prouve bien evidament par la route qui y est detaillée que cet off[ici]er non plus que ses enfans n'ont point cherché celle qui pouvoit les conduire a cette découverte. Quoy qu'il en soit, le Sr De la veranderie ayant demandé d'êstre relevé dans le Commandement des Postes qu'il a establis,

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colony. The King is awaiting news of what has taken place in this connection, with all the more impatience from the fact that he has reason to hope it will be satisfactory as a result of the measures which each of you in his own sphere will have taken. . . .

I have examined the journal which the Sieur de la Vérendrye's son forwarded last year to the Marquis de Beauharnois on the progress of the Western Sea expedition; but I have quite failed to find anything satisfactory in it so far as that is concerned, nor anything that tends to justify the views of the Sieur de la Vérendrye in carrying on the enterprise, inasmuch as the journal clearly shows from the route laid down in it that neither that officer nor his sons have chosen the one which might lead to the desired discovery.

However that may be, the Sieur de la Vérendrye having asked to be relieved of the command of the posts which

S.M. a approuvé que M. le M[arqu]is de Beauharnois l'ayt remplacé par le Sr Denoyelle dont les Equipeurs doivent payer 3000[ll] par an pour la ferme de ces Postes ; mais cet officier ne travaillera pas plus sincerement a la decouverte que son predecesseur, si M. le M[arqu]is de Beauharnois n'a pas soin de veiller sur ces demarches. S.M. jugera de ce qui en sera par les succés.

Il est cependant fort a desirer que le Sr de Noyelle puisse maintenir la tranquillité parmi les Nations sauvages qui avoisinent les Postes et les engager a faire des incursions sur les Anglois establis de ce costé là. Et comme c'est peut-estre là le moyen le plus sûr de prevenir les querelles entr'elles indépendament du bien qui en pourroit resulter pour le bien de la Colonie, S.M. ne doute point que M. le M[arqu]is de Beauharnois n'ayt donné a cet off[ici]er les ordres néc[essai]res sur cela. . . .

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he has established, His Majesty approves of the action of the Marquis de Beauharnois in replacing him by the Sieur de Noyelles, whose outfitters are to pay 3000 livres a year as farmers of these posts. Yet that officer will pursue the discovery with no more earnestness than his predecessor unless the Marquis de Beauharnois keeps an eye on his movements. His Majesty will form his own opinion of the matter by the success achieved.

It is greatly to be desired, however, that the Sieur de Noyelles should manage to maintain peace among the savage tribes in the neighbourhood of the posts, and induce them to attack the English established in that region. And, as that is perhaps the best means of preventing them from quarrelling among themselves, independently of the good which might result therefrom to the colony, His Majesty does not doubt that the Marquis de Beauharnois has given the officer in question all necessary instructions on the point. . . .

A M. le M[arqu]is de Beauharnois.

A V[ersail]les le 26 Avril 1745.

M.

J'ay receu vos Lettres des 11 et 27 8^{bre} d[erni]er avec les pieces qui y estoient jointes. . . .

Je vous explique par une depesche commune a vous et à M. Hocquart les observations que presente le nouveau journal qui vous a esté remis par le fils du Sr De Laveranderie ; et quoyque la route qu'il paroit que cet off[ici]er et son frere ont tenüe ne soit point a beaucoup près celle qui devoit les conduire a l'objet de la decouverte dont ils estoient chargés, 'l seroit cependant bon que le Sr de Noyelle pût estre informé par les françois qu'on dit estre establis prés de la nation de la petite Cerise ainsi que du Sauvage de cette nation qu'on pretend avoir esté elevé chés les Espagnols, des connoissances

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Maurepas to Beauharnois.

Versailles, April 26, 1745.

Monsieur,

I received your letters of the 11th and 27th of October last with their enclosures.

I am explaining to you, by a despatch which is common to yourself and to M. Hocquart, the observations to which the new journal sent you by the son of the Sieur de la Vérendrye gives rise : and although the route which that officer and his brother appear to have followed is far from being the one that would lead to what they were commissioned to discover, it would nevertheless be advisable that the Sieur de Noyelles should receive from the French who are said to be established near the Gens de la Petite Cerise, as well as from the Indian of that tribe who is alleged to have been brought up among the Spaniards, such information

qu'ils peuvent avoir ; et je vous prie de lui donner des ordres sur cela, si vous ne l'avés desia fait.

S.M. a cependant bien voulu, sur les nouvelles representations que vous avés faites en faveur du Sr De la veranderie le pere, avoir egard aux services qu'il a rendus precedemment, en lui accord[an]t la Compagnie que vous avés demandée pour lui.

Je suis &c.

M. ob[t]

A M. de Beauharnois.

A Versailles le 12 May 1745.

M.

Par une depesche commune a vous et a M. Hocquart vous verrés qu'au moyen de l'arrangement qui a esté fait p[ou]r le service de l'art[ille]rie, le Roy a jugé a propos de

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as they may possess ; and I beg that you will give instructions to that effect, if you have not already done so.

His Majesty has at the same time been pleased, on the strength of the further representations which you have made in favour of the Sieur de la Vérendrye the elder, to take his preceding services into consideration and grant him the captaincy that you have applied for in his behalf.

I am, etc.

Maurepas to Beauharnois.

Versailles, May 12, 1745.

Monsieur,

By a despatch common to yourself and M. Hocquart you will see that in consequence of the arrangement made for the artillery service the King has judged it proper to

disposer de la Comp[agni]e que commandait le Ch[evali]er de Beauharnois. . . .

La Comp[agni]e a esté donnée au Sr De La verandrye. Mais les mesmes raisons qui avoient empesché S.M. de lui en accorder une de celles qui vacquerent l'année d[ernie]re l'ont encore determinée a ne point lui rendre le rang sur ceux qui lui furent preferés. C'est que depuis plusieurs années uniquement occupé de ses affaires il n'a rien fait p[ou]r le service ; car tous ses voyages n'ont réellement abouti qu'a la traitte avec Nations sauvages qu'il a frequentées. . . .

S.M. a pareillem[en]t approuvé vostre prop[positi]on pour la reforme des Srs de Beaulac et Niverville ; mais elle a jugé ne devoir donner au p[remi]er co[mm]e au 2[d]. que le grade de Lieutenant.

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dispose of the company of which the Chevalier de Beauharnois was in command.

The company has been given to the Sieur de la Vérendrye ; but the same reasons which prevented His Majesty from assigning him one of those which fell vacant last year have further determined him not to give him seniority over those who were then preferred to him. The reason is that, having for several years been solely occupied with his own affairs, he has done nothing for the service ; all those journeyings of his ending in nothing but trade with the savage tribes whose settlements he frequented. . . .

His Majesty has likewise approved of your proposition for putting on half-pay the Sieurs de Beaulac [1] and Niverville,[2] but to each he only grants the rank of lieutenant.

[1] Possibly Claude Hartel, Sieur de Beaulac, born in Three Rivers, 1682, and who was an officer in the troops 1682.

[2] Joseph Boucher, Chevalier de Niverville, was born at Chambly, 1715, son of Jean-Baptiste Boucher, Sieur de Niverville. Fought in the war between New England and New France 1744–48. Accompanied Céloron down the Ohio 1749. He accompanied Saint-Pierre in his western explorations 1750–53. Was at the siege of Fort William Henry 1757, and the siege of Quebec, 1759.

Par l'avancement des Srs De La Veranderye, Sermonville et Pean, et par la reforme des Srs Beaulac et Niverville, il y a eu 2 L[ieutenan]ces, 5 Ens[eign]es en pié et 5 Ens[eign]es en 2[d]. a remplacer. . . .

Je joins ici la com[missi]on du Sr De La Verandrye, avec les expéd[iti]ons des deux aymajors et des au[tre]s off[ici]ers qui ont eu part au remplacement.

Extrait d'une Lettre de Monsieur le Marquis de Beauharnois.

à Québec le 15 8bre 1746.

Monseigneur

. . . . .

Je ne crois pas qu'on puisse rien imputer au S[ieu]r de la Verandrye si les progrez de la Mer de l'Ouest ne vous ont point paru, Monseigneur, des plus satisfaisans. Il n'en est pas moins vray qu'il s'y est livré tout entier et qu'il y a

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By the promotion of the Sieurs de la Vérendrye, Sermonville [1] and Péan,[2] and the putting on half-pay of the Sieurs de Beaulac and Niverville, there are two lieutenancies, five full ensigncies and five junior ones to fill.

I annex hereto the commission of the Sieur de la Vérendrye, with the papers of the two adjutants and the other officers who figure in the substitutions made.

Extract from a letter of Beauharnois to Maurepas.

Quebec, October 15, 1746.

Monseigneur,

. . . . .

I do not believe that any blame can be imputed to the Sieur de la Vérendrye if more satisfactory progress has not seemed to you to have been made in the discovery of the Western Sea. It is none the less true that he gave himself

[1] Christophe Sabrefois de Sermonville, born 1701, son of Jacques Charles Sabrefois de Bleury.

[2] Jacques Hugues Péan, Sieur de Livaudière (1682–1747), commandant at fort Frontenac 1724, at Chambly 1727, and at Detroit 1733, town major of Quebec same year.

sacrifié tous les produits des nouveaux postes qu'il a établis par ses peines et soins et avec bien des risques. J'avanceray même, Monseigneur, que cet officier est plus propre que personne à suivre cette découverte et que sur la demande que m'a fait le S[ieu]r Denoyelle de le relever, je ne balanceray point à renvoyer le S[ieu]r de la Verandrye. Il connoist en effet beaucoup mieux les sauvages de ces quartiers, par l'habitude qu'il a eu, depuis 14. ans de vivre avec eux. C'est un homme doux, ferme et bien plus en état de tirer d'eux les connoissances nécessaires aux progrez de cette découverte, à laquelle le S[ieu]r Denoyelle n'a aucunement avancé depuis deux ans, malgré les mémoires et les instructions que je luy ai donné en conséquence.

Je suis avec un très profond respect, Monseigneur,
Votre très humble, et tres obeissant serviteur,
BEAUHARNOIS.

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wholly to the task and devoted to it the whole proceeds of the new posts which he established with so much trouble and care and with extreme risk.

I will undertake to assert, Monseigneur, that that officer is better qualified than any one else to carry on this exploration, and that the Sieur de Noyelles having asked to be relieved I shall not hesitate to send out the Sieur de la Vérendrye. He has a much better understanding, in fact, of the savages of that region through living with them habitually for fourteen years. As a man he is mild and firm and better fitted to draw from them the information necessary for the progress of the discovery which in the hands of the Sieur de Noyelles has been for two years at a standstill notwithstanding the memoirs and instructions I have sent to him bearing on the matter.

I am with very profound respect, Monseigneur,
Your very humble and obedient servant,
BEAUHARNOIS.

[*Lettre de Monsieur de la Veranderie*]
[à Kuébec le premier Novembre 1746.]

Monseigneur

C'est avec la plus vive reconnoissance que je prends la liberté de vous remercier, Monseigneur de la grace que vous avez bien voulu m'accorder en me procurant mon avancement. Je sens tout le prix de cette faveur qui ne peut qu'augmenter en moy l'émulation et le zèle que j'ay toujours eu pour mon service.

M[onsieur] le Marquis de Beauharnois notre Général m'a fait l'honneur de me pressentir sur les vues qu'il a de me faire continuer les découvertes de la Mer de l'Ouest à deffaut de M[onsieur] Denoyelles qui luy a demandé d'estre relevé ; je feray, je vous assure, Monseigneur, les derniers efforts pour répondre à la confiance qu'il veut bien avoir en moy.

La Vérendrye to Maurepas.

Quebec, November 1, 1746.

Monseigneur,

It is with the liveliest gratitude that I take the liberty of thanking you, Monseigneur, for the favour you have been pleased to accord me in procuring my promotion.[1] I appreciate this favour most highly, and it can only increase in me the emulation and zeal I have always had for the service in which I am enrolled.

Monsieur the Marquis de Beauharnois, our General, has done me the honour to notify me in advance of his intention that I should continue the search for the Western Sea in the place of Monsieur de Noyelles, who has applied to be relieved.

I shall make, I assure you, Monseigneur, the utmost effort to respond to the confidence he is good enough to have in

[1] To the rank of captain in the colonial troops.

Les connoissances que j'ay de cet endroit jointes à celles qu'ont acquises mes enfans dont 2. sont dans ce Poste aujourd'huy me mettront en estat de faire de nouvelles découvertes encore plus satisfaisantes du moins il ne tiendra pas à moy. Je vous suplie, Monseigneur, destre très persuadé de l'attention que j'y apporteray ayant encore plus en vue la réussite de cette entreprise que mon interest particulier que je sçauray toujours sacrifier quand il sera question du service du Roy.

Je suis avec un très profond respect, Monseigneur
De Votre Grandeur
Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur
LAVERENDRYE.

A Kuebec le p^er^.
Novembre 1746.

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me. The knowledge I have of that region, joined to that which my sons have acquired, of whom two are in this post to-day, will enable me to make further discoveries of a still more satisfactory character; at least it will not be my fault if I do not.

I beg you, Monseigneur, to be convinced of the attention I shall give to the matter, having much more at heart the success of this enterprise than my own personal interest, which I shall always be ready to sacrifice to the service of the King.

I am with profound respect, Monseigneur,
Your Highness's very humble and very obedient servant,
LA VÉRENDRYE.

A M. De La Jonquiere.

A V[ersail]les le 6 Mars 1747.

Je reponds aux Lettres que M. le M[arqu]is de Beauharnois m'a ecrites les p[remi]er, 15 et 18 8^{bre} de l'année d[ernie]re. . . .

Vous sçavez qu'il y a plusieurs années qu'on a entrepris en Canada de decouvrir la mer de l'oüest par les terres. C'est le Sr de Laveranderie Cap[itai]ne dans les troupes qui a d'abord esté chargé de cette decouverte. il a establi plusieurs postes en avant dans les terres qui l'ont mis en estat de faire une traite considerable avec les nations qui en sont a portée ; mais satisfait des profits qu'il a trouvés dans cette traite, cet off[ici]er s'est peu mis en peine de travailler a la decouverte qui devoit faire son principal objet. M. de Beauharnois l'a fait relever en 1744 par le Sr Desnoyelles autre Cap[itai]ne ;

Maurepas to La Jonquière.[1]

Versailles, March 6, 1747.

I am replying to the letters written by the Marquis de Beauharnois on the 1st, 15th and 18th of October of last year. . . .

You know that several years ago an attempt was made in Canada to discover the Western Sea by the overland route. The first to be entrusted with the enterprise was the Sieur de la Vérendrye, captain in the troops. He established a number of posts in the far West which enabled him to do a considerable business with the surrounding tribes ; but, content with the profits accruing from this trade, that officer was very slack in pursuing the discovery which ought to have been the principal object of his efforts.

In the year 1744 M. de Beauharnois replaced him by the

[1] Jacques-Pierre de Taffanel, Marquis de la Jonquière, Governor of Canada 1749–52 ; born 1685 ; died in Quebec, March 17, 1752. See Kingsford, *History of Canada*, iii. 411 *et seq.* ; Kalm, *Travels*, ii. 310–12.

mais celuy ci paroit avoir encore donné moins de soins a la decouverte ; et M. de Beauharnois me marque qu'il devoit le faire relever et que c'est encore le Sr de La veranderie qu'il avoit choisi pour le remplacer. il est nécessaire qu'a vostre arrivée vous vous fassiés remettre tous les journaux et les cartes qui ont esté faits concernant cette operation, afin qu'aprés les avoir examinés vous puissiés donner a cet officier des ordres convenables pour l'obliger a ne pas abuser de sa destination pour faire uniquement le Com[mer]ce ; et vous aurés mesme soin de le prevenir que si S.M. n'a pas lieu d'estre plus satisfaite que par le passé de la façon dont il travaillera a la decouverte, elle donnera des ordres positifs pour le priver de tout commandem[en]t dans la Colonie. Vous aurés agreable aussi de me faire part de tous les details qu'il vous remettra sur cette matiere. Si vous jugiés mesme

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Sieur de Noyelles, another captain; but he seems to have given even less attention to the work of discovery ; and now M. de Beauharnois informs me that he was obliged to relieve him of the duty, and had again chosen the Sieur de la Vérendrye to put in his place.

It is necessary that, on your arrival, you should obtain all the journals and maps that have been made in connection with the enterprise in question, in order that, after having examined them, you may be able to give that officer such orders as shall ensure that he shall not abuse his appointment by giving his attention solely to trade ; and you will be careful to tell him that, unless His Majesty has better reason to be satisfied than previously, he will give positive orders to deprive him of all command in the colony.

You will be kind enough also to communicate to me any facts which he may report to you in connection with this matter. If you should even judge it expedient to substitute

a propos de lui substituer dez a p[rese]nt un autre off[ici]er S.M. vous en laisse la liberté.

On a pendant longtems esté dans l'usage en Canada d'abandonner aux officiers commandans dans les Postes l'exploitation de la traite et du com[mer]ce qu'on y fait, au moyen d'une modique so[mm]e qu'ils payoient par forme de ferme ; mais S.M. informée des abus auxquels cet arrangement donnoit lieu et voulant faire joüir les neg[ocian]s de la Colonie du benefice de ce com[mer]ce, ordonna en 1742 a M^rs^. de Beauharnois et Hocquart d'affermer tous les Postes a son profit en reservant en faveur des officiers qui y seroient employés des gratiffications a prendre sur le produit des fermes lesquelles seroient reglées lorsque les baux en seroient passés. Ces ordres ont esté ex[ecut]és ; mais les officiers accoutumés a joüir du benefice de la traite ont en general peu favorisé les fermiers. . . .

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another officer for him forthwith, His Majesty leaves you free to do so.

It was long the custom in Canada to hand over to the commanders of posts the whole trade and commerce done there, exacting only a small sum by way of farming rent ; but His Majesty having been informed of the abuses to which this system gave rise, and wishing the merchants of Canada to have the benefit of this trade, gave instructions in 1742 to Messieurs de Beauharnois and Hocquart to farm out all the posts on his behalf, reserving to the officers in charge a certain allowance on the proceeds, to be determined when the leases were made. These orders have been carried into effect ; but the officers, who were accustomed to get the full benefit of the trade, have in general shown but little favour to the farmers. . . .

[*Lettre de Monsieur de la Galissonnière, En faveur du Sieur de la Verendrye.*]

A Quebec ce 23 Octobre 1747.

Monseigneur

J'ai pensé ne point répondre au sujet de la découverte de la Mer de l'Ouest étant encore trop peu instruit, il me paroit seulement que ce qu'on vous a mandé au sujet du S[ieur] de la Veranderye comme aiant plus travaillé à ses intérests qu'à la découverte est très faux, et qu'au surplus tous les officiers qu'on y emploiera seront toujours dans la nécessité de donner une partie de leurs soins au commerce tant que le Roy ne leur fournira pas d'autres moyens d'y subsister, ce qui peut

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La Galissonnière[1] *to Maurepas.*

Quebec, October 23, 1747.

Monseigneur,

I hardly thought of replying on the subject of the discovery of the Western Sea, being still insufficiently informed regarding it. I would only say that it appears to me that what has been reported to you with reference to the Sieur de la Vérendrye having bestowed more pains on his own interests than on the exploration is entirely false, and moreover that any officers who may be employed on that task will be under the necessity of giving a part of their attention to commerce as long as the King shall not furnish them with other means

[1] Rolland Michel Barrin, Marquis de la Galissonnière, born at Rochefort 1693, served in the navy, and administered the government of Canada, 1747–49, during the captivity of the Marquis de la Jonquière, who had been named Governor of Canada, but had been taken prisoner by the English in a naval engagement off Cape Finisterre, May 3, 1747. La Galissonnière was a man of energy and straightforwardness, and laboured earnestly during his short term of office to advance the interests of Canada. Peter Kalm pays a warm tribute to his enthusiasm for natural history. After his return to France he commanded the French fleet that defeated Byng off Minorca, 1756. He died the same year. See Kingsford, *History of Canada*, iii. 387; Kalm, *Travels into North America* (1772), ii. 369.

être ne seroit pas convenable, mais ce n'est pas une bonne façon de les encourager que de leur reprôcher quelques médiocres profits ou que de leur retarder leur avancement sous ce prétexte comme le S[ieur] de la Veranderye prétend qu'il luy est arrivé.

Ces découvertes causent de grandes dépenses et expôsent à de plus grandes fatigues et à de plus grands dangers que des guerres ouvertes. Le S[ieur] de la Salle et le fils du S[ieur] de la Verenderye et tant d'autres qui y ont péri en fournissent la preuve ; au surplus pour ce qui regarde le S[ieur] de la Veranderye je m'en rapporte entièrement à ce que vous a mandé M[onsieur] de Beauharnois le 15 Octobre 1746.

Je suis avec un très profond respect, Monseigneur
Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur
La Galissonière.

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of subsistence. The system may not be good, but it is a poor way to encourage them to reproach them with any slight profits they may make, or to delay their promotion under this pretext, as the Sieur de la Vérendrye says has been done in his case.

These explorations cause heavy expense and expose a man to greater fatigue and greater danger than regular wars. The Sieur de la Salle and the son of the Sieur de la Vérendrye and so many others who have perished in these adventures furnish the proof of what I say. I will only add that as regards the Sieur de la Vérendrye I agree entirely with what Monsieur de Beauharnois wrote to you on the fifteenth of October 1746.

I am with very profound respect, Monseigneur,
Your very humble and very obedient servant,
La Galissonnière.

A M. le C[om]te de la Galissoniere.

A Versailles le 28 Fevrier 1748.

M

. . . . .

Et il a esté accordé en mesme temps des exp[ectati]ves d'Ens[eign]es en s[econ]d aux Srs Boüat, ch[evali]er de Langy, ch[evali]er de La Verandrye, Bleury, Desjordy l'aisné, Villebon, La Verandrye l'aisné, ferés Du Buron, et ch[evali]er de La perade. . . .

Maurepas to La Galissonnière.

Versailles, February 28, 1748.

Monsieur,

. . . . .

At the same time the names of the Sieurs Boüat,[1] Chevalier de Langy,[2] Chevalier de la Vérendrye, Bleury,[3] Desjordy the elder,[4] Villebon,[5] La Vérendrye the elder,[6] Ferés Du Buron,[7] and Chevalier de la Perade,[8] have been put down for junior ensigncies when vacancies arise. . . .

[1] François-Marie Boüat, born 1717, married 1742 Anne Gaultier de Varennes. He was a cadet in 1743. His father, who bore the same Christian names (1676–1726), was at one time lieutenant-general of the provostships at Montreal.

[2] Jean-Baptiste Levreau de Langy, born 1723, son of Léon-Joseph Levreau, lieutenant in the troops. Jean-Baptiste married 1756 Madeleine d'Ailleboust. His brother, Jacques-Joseph, commanded a scouting party under Montcalm.

[3] Jean-Clément Sabrefois de Bleury, (1729–1784). He was junior ensign, Isle Royale, 1749; married at Montreal, 1754, Marie-Renée Gamelin-Maugras; ensign 1755; lieutenant 1760.

[4] Possibly Pierre François Desjordi-Cabanac de Saint-Georges.

[5] Charles René Desjordi, Sieur de Villebon.

[6] Pierre de la Vérendrye, elder brother of the Chevalier.

[7] Possibly Henri Feré, or Feray, Duburon, born 1725, or one of his brothers, Charles-Louis, born 1729, or Charles-Victor, born 1731, sons of Jean-Joseph Feray Duburon (1679–1752).

[8] Louis-Joseph Tarieu, born 1714, son of Pierre-Thomas Tarieu de Lanaudière. His mother was the famous Madeleine de Verchères. Louis-Joseph was at Louisbourg in 1755.

A M. le C[om]te de La Galissoniere.

A V[ersail]les le p[remi]er Mars 1748.

M.

J'ai receu vos lettres des 19, 23, 25, 30 8^{bre} et 3 9^{bre} d[erni]ers avec les pieces qui y éstoient jointes. . . .

A l'egard de la decouverte de la mer de L'oüest, mon intention n'a point esté d'interdire la traite des Pelleteries a ceux qui en ont esté chargés jusqu'a present puisque ce n'est qu'au moyen des avantages de cette traite qu'ils peuvent travailler efficacement a pousser cette decouverte ; mais il est certain aussi que le Sr de La Veranderie a abusé de sa mission et que pendant plusieurs années il a absolument abandonné son objet pour tourner ses pas du costé ou il a crû devoir faire le com[mer]ce avec plus d'avantage. Ce sont ses propres journaux qui m'en ont fait juger ainsi ; et

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Maurepas to La Galissonnière.

Versailles, March 1, 1748.

Monsieur,

I have received your letters of the 19th, 23rd, 25th and 30th of October, and of the 3rd of November last, with their enclosures. . . .

In regard to the expedition for the discovery of the Western Sea, my intention was not to interdict the fur trade to those in charge of that expedition up to the present, since it is only by means of the profits of that trade that they are able to work effectually towards the prosecution of that discovery ; but it is certain, at the same time, that the Sieur de la Vérendrye has abused his mission, and that for several years he absolutely abandoned his proper object, in order to turn his steps in the direction in which he thought he could trade to the greatest advantage. I judge this from his own journals ; but the very slight success that has attended his

le peu de succès qu'a eu son entreprise ne justifie que trop mon jugement a cet egard.

Quoiqu'il en soit, je serois bien aize que vous examinassiés ce qu'on peut attendre de cette entreprise et les mesures qu'il pourroit y avoir a prendre pour la suivre supposé que vous pensiés qu'elle pût meriter quelque attention. J'attendrai que vous me marquiés vostre avis a ce sujet. . . .

A M. le M[arqu]is de La Jonquiere.

A Marly le 4 May 1749.

M.

Je reponds aux Lettres de M. le c[om]te De La Galissoniere des 12 et 23 8^{bre} d[erni]ers.

Depuis qu'il est question de la decouverte de la mer de L'oüest par les terres, c'est le Sr de La veranderie qui avec

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enterprise only too fully justifies my conclusion. Nevertheless I should be glad if you would look into the question of what we may hope for from this enterprise, and of the measures to be taken for following it up, assuming that you think it deserves any attention.

I shall await information as to your opinion on this subject. . . .

Rouillé[1] to La Jonquière.

Marly, May 4, 1749.

Monsieur,

I am replying to the letters of the Count de la Galissonnière of the 12th and 23rd of October last.

Since the question of the discovery of the Western Sea by the overland route was first taken up, the enterprise has

[1] Antoine-Louis, Comte de Jouy Rouillé (1689-1761), succeeded Maurepas as Minister of Marine and the Colonies, April 24, 1749, continuing in that office until July 28, 1754.

ses enfans a esté chargé de la conduite de l'entreprise, a l'exception des trois d[ernie]res années qu'elle avoit esté confiée au Sr de Noyelles autre Cap[itai]ne. On a accusé le Sr de La veranderie de s'occuper bien plus a ramasser des Pelleteries qu'a pousser la decouverte. Leurs derniers journaux justiffioient pleinement cette accusation ; en sorte que pour couper racine a un pareil abus, M. de Beauharnois, sur les ordres qu'il en avoit receüs, les avoit rapellés des Postes qu'ils occupoient. Le Sr De Noyelles ayant de son costé demandé a revenir, on lui en a d'autant plus volontiers accordé la permission qu'il paroissoit travailler encore moins efficacement a l'objet de la decouverte.

M. de La Galissoniere par une des Lettres auxquelles je reponds est entré dans un grand detail sur ce qui s'est passé de la part des Srs De La veranderie ; et quoique ce qu'il en a ecrit ne justiffie pas trop leur conduite, S.M. a bien

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been confided to the Sieur de la Vérendrye and his sons, except for the last three years, when it was placed in the hands of the Sieur de Noyelles, another captain. The Sieur de la Vérendrye has been accused of applying himself much more earnestly to the collecting of furs than to the prosecution of his discovery. The latest journals received from him fully justified the charge, so that, to cut short the abuse, M. de Beauharnois, in accordance with orders he had received, recalled him and his sons from the posts they were occupying. The Sieur de Noyelles having then asked leave to come back, permission was readily granted to him, for no better reason apparently than that he had been even more inefficient than the others in pursuing the work of exploration.

M. de la Galissonnière in one of the letters to which I am now replying entered into a great many details regarding the doings of the Sieurs de la Vérendrye ; and though what he wrote fails to justify their conduct, His Majesty has seen

voulu approuver le party qu'il a pris de confier encore cette entreprise a un d'entr'eux ; et si le Pere n'est pas lui mesme retourné dans les Postes et qu'il demande encore a y aller, elle trouvera bon que vous le lui permettiez. Mais elle vous recommande expressem[en]t de veiller sur leur conduite de façon a les contenir du costé de la traite et a les obliger a s'occuper serieusem[en]t de l'objet de leur mission. Vous leur prescrirez aussi de vous remettre chaque année un journal de leurs operations dont vous aurez agréable de m'envoyer une copie. . . .

A M. De la Tuillerie.

A Marly le 14 May 1749.

Je vous prie, M., de m'envoyer cinq Croix de St-Louis avec leurs rubans pour les Srs Des Noyelles, La Valterie, ch[evali]er De La Corne, La Verendrye Capitaines d'In-

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fit to approve of his action in entrusting the enterprise once more to one of them ; and if the father has not himself returned to the posts and desires to do so, His Majesty would wish you to grant him permission for that purpose. But he expressly recommends you to watch their movements, so as to restrict their trading operations and compel them to occupy themselves seriously with the object of their mission. You will direct them also to send you every year a journal of their proceedings, a copy of which you will be good enough to forward to me. . . .

Rouillé to La Tuillerie.

Marly, May 14, 1749.

I beg you, Monsieur, to send me five St. Louis Crosses with ribbons for the Sieurs de Noyelles, La Valterie, Chevalier de la Corne, La Vérendrye, infantry captains in Canada,

fanterie en Canada et Ch[evali]er de Beauharnois qui y est Commandant de l'Artillerie, lesquels Sa Majesté a nommés Chevaliers de cet ordre, et qui doivent etre receus dans la Colonie par M. Le M[arqu]is de La Jonquiere Gouverneur Lieutenant general de la nouvelle France.

Je suis, M, entierement à vous.

A M. le M[arqu]is de La Jonquiere.

A Versailles le 23 May 1749.

M.

. . . . .

A l'egard des 7 places d'Ens[eign]es qui ont vaqué par ce mouvement, et de celle qui vaquoit deja par la mort du S[r] de Jumanville, elles ont esté remplies par les Srs. Boüat,

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and Chevalier de Beauharnois, commandant of artillery,[1] whom His Majesty has named Chevaliers of that Order, and who are to be received in the colony by the Marquis de la Jonquière, Governor, Lieutenant-General of New France.

I remain, Monsieur, entirely at your service.

Rouillé to La Jonquière.

Versailles, May 23, 1749.

Monsieur,

. . . . .

As regards the 7 ensigncies rendered vacant by this movement, and the one already vacant by the death of the Sieur de Jumanville,[2] they have been filled by the Sieurs

[1] Claude de Beauharnois, nephew of the Governor and also of François de Beauharnois, Intendant of New France. He was born at Rochefort in 1717. Created Comte des Roches-Baritaud. The other officers mentioned above have been identified in previous notes.

[2] Joseph de Jumanville.

Ch[evali]er de Langy, Ch[evali]er de La Verendrye, de Bleury, Desjordy, Villebon l'aisné, De La Verendrye l'aisné, Du Buron, et Ch[evali]er de La Perade, lesquels avoient des exp[ectati]ves.

Vous trouverés cy joint les expéd[iti]ons de tous les off[ici]ers compris dans ce remplacement, affin que vous puissiés les leur remettre, et les f[air]e reconnoitre dans leurs nouveaux grades.

Le Roy a bien voulu avoir egard aussi a la demande que M. le C[om]te de La Galissoniere a faite de la croix de St-Loüis en faveur des Srs Des Noyelles, La Valterie, Ch[evali]er de La Corne, et De La Verendrye, cap[itain]es, et du ch[evali]er de Beauharnois l[ieutenan]t d'art[ille]rie. Je vous envoye pareillement les croix et les ordres pour la reception de ces nouveaux ch[evali]ers. . . .

Boüat, Chevalier de Langy, Chevalier de la Vérendrye, de Bleury, Desjordy, Villebon senior, de la Vérendrye senior, Du Buron, and Chevalier de la Perade, who had the promise of them.

You will find herewith the commissions of all the officers comprised in this replacement, so that you may be able to hand them to those officers and cause them to be recognized in their new grades.

The King has also on the recommendation of the Count de la Galissonnière granted the St. Louis Cross to the Sieurs de Noyelles, La Valterie, Chevalier de la Corne, and de la Vérendrye, captains, and to the Chevalier de Beauharnois, lieutenant of artillery. I send you in like manner the crosses, together with instructions for the reception of these new Chevaliers of the Order. . . .

[*Lettre de Monsieur de la Verendrye*]
[*de Québec ce 17 de 7bre* 1749.]

Monseigneur

Je prend la liberté de vous faire mes très humble remercîment de ce que vous avez bien voulu me procurer de Sa Magesté unne Croix de S[aint] Louis, et à deux de mes enfens leurs avancement.

Mon zel acompagnez de reconoisance mangage à partir le printems prochin, honoré des ordres de Monsieur le Marquis de la Jonquière nostre Général pour pousuivre les établissement et déscouverte du Ouest qui ont estez interompu depuy plusieurs année, J'ay remis à Monsieur le Marquis de la Jonquière la carte et le mémoire de la route qu'il me faux tenir, pour le présent, Monsieur le Comte de la Galissonière en a une pareille.

Je tienderez un journal très exatte de la route depuy lantrez des terres jusque aux extrémitez où je pourez parvenir

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La Vérendrye to Rouillé.

Quebec, September 17, 1749.

Monseigneur,

I take the liberty of returning you my very humble thanks that you have been pleased to procure for me from His Majesty a Cross of Saint Louis and promotion for two of my sons.

My zeal accompanied by gratitude impels me to leave here next spring honoured with the orders of the Marquis de la Jonquière, our General, to continue the establishment of posts and the exploration of the West, which for several years have been interrupted. I have delivered to the Marquis de la Jonquière the map and memorandum showing the route I am to follow for the present. The Count de la Galissonnière has a similar one.

I shall keep a very exact journal of my travels from my first advance into the interior to the farthest point I and my sons

avec mes enfens, je ne puy partir de Montréal que dans le mois de May prochin qui est le tems que la navigation est libre pour les peaïs dans haux. Je comte faire toute la diligance posible pour aller yverner aux fort Bourbon qui est le dernier aux bast de la rivière Aubiche de tout les fort que j'ay etably.

Trop hureux si a lisue de toutes les peines, fatigues et risque que ja vais essuyer dans cette longue descouverte je pouerois parvenir à vous prouver mon désintéressement

Mon grand zel ausy bien que mes enfens pour la gloire du Roy et le bien de la colonie.

Je suy avec un très profont respect, Monseigneur

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur

LAVERENDRYE.

De Quebec ce 17 de septembre 1749.

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may reach. I am not able to leave Montreal till the month of May next, which is the time when navigation opens for the upper country. I mean to make all possible diligence so that I may be able to winter at fort Bourbon, on the lower course of the Rivière aux Biches,[1] the last one I have established.

I shall be only too happy if after all the trouble, fatigue and danger I am about to encounter in this long exploration I could succeed in proving to you the disinterestedness and zeal of myself and my sons for the glory of the King and the welfare of the colony.

I am with very profound respect, Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

LA VERENDRYE.

[1] Fort Bourbon is shown on two of La Vérendrye's maps at the mouth of the 'Rivière aux Biches,' and on another at the mouth of 'Rivière Blanche.' The latter, as elsewhere stated, was evidently the Saskatchewan. The Rivière aux Biches appears on the maps as a stream falling into Lake Winnipeg south of the Saskatchewan. No river exists answering to this description. The Rivière aux Biches is evidently the present Moose river, one of whose branches empties into the western end of Cedar lake. The explanation seems to be that two posts were built and named fort Bourbon—the first at the mouth of the Pasquia, where we have the evidence of Alexander Henry and other later travellers that a French fort once stood, and a later fort, replacing the first, on the west side of Cedar lake.

A M[onsieur] le M[arqu]is de La Jonquiere.

A V[ersail]les le 15 Avril 1750.

M.

Je reponds aux Lettres que vous m'avez ecrites les 10, 22 7^{bre}, 31 8^{bre} et 7 9^{bre} d[erni]ers.

Le S^{r}. de La veranderie ayant en consequence de l'ordre que vous lui en avez donné, deü partir pour suivre l'entreprise de la decouverte de la mer de L'oüest, on jugera par ce qu'on aprendra de ses progrez, s'il aporte plus de soin qu'il n'a fait cy devant, a l'objet de cette decouverte. Il est sans doute de son interest de chercher a detruire les impressions que sa conduite passée a occasionnés ; mais vous ne devez pas estre moins attentif a empescher que l'apât de la traité ne le detourne des vües qu'il doit suivre pour y reussir ; et vous auréz agreable de me rendre compte de tous les détails que vous recevrez a ce sujet. . . .

Rouillé to La Jonquière.

Versailles, April 15, 1750.

Monsieur,

I am replying to the letters you wrote me on the 10th and 22nd of September, the 31st of October, and the 7th of November last.

As the Sieur de la Vérendrye, under the instructions given to him by you, ought by this time to have departed on his journey for the discovery of the Western Sea, we shall judge by his reports of progress whether he is applying himself more earnestly than hitherto to the object of his expedition. It is certainly to his interest to seek to remove the impressions created by his past conduct ; but you must not, on that account, be any the less watchful to prevent his being turned aside by the lure of trade from purposes he ought to persevere in, in order to succeed ; and you will be good enough to furnish me with any details you may receive on the subject.

[*Extrait de la lettre du marquis de La Jonquière, datée de à Québec, du 27 Février* 1750.]

Monseigneur

. . . . .

J'ay l'honneur de vous rendre compte de la mort du S[ieur] de Croizille, capitaine de la garnison des Trois-Rivières . . . et de celle de M. de La Verendrie aussi capitaine à Montréal arrivée le 6 X^bre^.

Comme ce dernier étoit chargé de continuer en personne la découverte de la mer du Ouest et qu'il me paroît que l'intention du Roy est qu'on poursuive ce projet, j'ay chargé M. de S[ain]t-Pierre de cette Exécution, et je compte qu'il partira dès le petit printems, C'est le seul officier de toute la colonie qui a le plus de connoissance de tous ces païs-là . . . . etc.

Extract from the letter of La Jonquière to Rouillé.

Quebec, February 27, 1750.

Monseigneur,

I have the honour to report to you the death of the Sieur de Croisille,[1] captain of the garrison of Three Rivers . . . and that of M. de la Vérendrye, also captain at Montreal, which occurred on the 6th of December.

As the latter was instructed to continue in person the search for the Western Sea, and as it appears to me that the intention of the King is that this project should be pursued, I have instructed M. de Saint-Pierre to carry it out, and I intend him to leave early in the spring. He is the officer in the colony who possesses most information regarding all those countries. . . .

[1] Charles Le Gardeur, Sieur de Croisille (1677-1749), born at Boucherville, ensign 1710, lieutenant 1727, captain 1741, commanded Fort St. Frédéric 1746, died at Three Rivers.

Il est question depuis longtemps de la decouverte de la Mer de l'Oüest par les terres de Canada. Les progrès qu'on a fait jusqu'à présent pour cette decouverte n'ont pas été bien satisfaisans ; mais on est du moins parvenu à porter le nom françois parmi un grand nombre de nations sauvages dont l'attachement n'est point indifferent à certains égards et à procurer au commerce de la colonie une quantité assez considérable de pelleteries provenant de la chasse de ces nations.

C'est le S[ieu]r de la Veranderie Capitaine et ses enfans qui ont les premiers été employés à cette entreprise ; mais sur ce qu'on avoit lieu de soupçonner qu'ils s'apliquoient bien plus à des operations de commerce qu'à l'objet de la découverte, on leur a substitüe d'autres officiers pendant

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Report of La Jonquière.[1]

For a very long time there has been a question of the discovery of the Western Sea through the territory of Canada. The progress that has been made up to the present towards this discovery has not been very satisfactory, but this at least has been accomplished : the French name has been carried among a great number of savage tribes whose attachment is not a matter of indifference in certain respects, and the commerce of the colony has been augmented by a considerable quantity of peltries, the product of the chase of those tribes.

The Sieur de la Vérendrye, captain, and his sons were the first to be employed in this enterprise, but, as there was a suspicion that they were applying themselves much more to commercial operations than exploration, other officers were substituted for them for a period of two or three

[1] Without place, or date, or signature, but evidently from the context the work of La Jonquière.

deux ou trois ans. Ceux cy paroissant encore moins chercher à lui faire faire des progrés, le C[om]te de la Galissonniere s'est determiné à employer encore les S[ieu]rs de la Veranderie.

Ces officiers sont partis l'année derniere de Montréal; et le S[ieu]r M[arqu]is de la Jonquiere envoye une carte des lieux jusqu'où ils se sont portés, avec un memoire qui sert d'explication à cette carte. on les joint icy.

Il y a, au reste, lieu de juger que la crainte de perdre encore l'avantage de la traite engagera les S[ieu]rs de la Verandiere à pousser la découverte. En tout cas, cela n'occasionne aucune depense au Roy, et il reviendra toujours des pelleteries dont le commerce de la colonie profitera, et dont une partie ne manqueroit pas d'être portée aux Anglois établis du costé de la Baye d'Hudson.

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years. The latter appearing to be even less earnest in advancing the enterprise, the Count de la Galissonnière determined to re-employ the Sieurs de la Vérendrye.

These officers started last year from Montreal, and the Marquis de la Jonquière sends a map of the places they have been to, with an explanatory memorandum, and attaches them hereto.[1]

There is, moreover, room for belief that the fear of again losing the profits of the trade will urge the Sieurs de la Vérendrye to forward the exploration. In any case His Majesty will not be put to any expense, and peltries will continue to come in, whereby the trade of the colony will benefit, a part of which would not fail [otherwise] to be diverted to the English on Hudson Bay.

[1] The reference here is to the sons of La Vérendrye, as the father had died the previous year. It does not appear that they actually went west on this expedition. As a matter of fact they were more than willing to take up their father's task, but were refused permission by the Governor.

[1749] *Découverte du Poskoyac.*

Mémoire en abrégé de la carte qui représente les établissemens et découvertes faites par le sieur De La Verendrye et ses enfants.

Elle commence sur le bord du lac Supérieur où il se trouve un portage de trois lieues pour tomber sur la Rivière des Natohouagannes. Du bord du lac à la hauteur des terres il y a vingt-cinq lieues.

De la hauteur des terres au premier établissement, quatre-vingt-quinze lieues.

Le fort se nomme Saint-Pierre et est à la décharge du lac De la Pluie.

Les nations sauvages se nomment Gens de la Graisse d'ours et Monsonis.

[1749] *Discovery of the Poskoyac.*

Abridged memorandum respecting the map which represents the establishments and discoveries made by the Sieur de la Vérendrye and his sons.

It [the map] begins on the shore of Lake Superior, where there is a portage of three leagues to get to the river of the Natohouagannes.[1] From the shore of the lake to the height of land is twenty-five leagues. From the height of land to the first establishment, ninety-five leagues. The fort is called Saint Pierre and is at the outlet of Rainy lake.[2] The savage tribes call themselves the Gens de la Graisse d'Ours [3] and Monsoni.

[1] Pigeon river. 'Nantohouaganne' on Auchagah's map. See footnote, p. 53.

[2] The actual distance from Lake Superior to Height of Land portage is 56·5 miles; and from Lake Superior to the site of fort St. Pierre, 238·4 miles.

[3] Probably a band of the Chippewa.

Le second établissement est le fort Saint-Charles au Sur-Ouest du lac des Bois distant du fort Saint-Pierre de quatre-vingts lieues. La nation qui habite ces continens sont Monsonis, Christinos alliés depuis longtemps.

Troisième établissement est le fort de Maurepas au bas de la Rivière du même nom près l'entrée du lac Ouinipigon, du côté du Nord, à cent lieues du fort Saint-Charles. La nation est Cristinos du Bois fort.

Quatrième établissement est le fort de la Reine, à cent lieues du fort de Maurepas, sur le côté du Nord de la Rivière des Assiliboels. Il y a été bâti autrefois un fort dans la Rivière Rouge par le sieur De la Verendrye L'ainé à cinq lieues du Lac. Il est abandonné aujourd'hui comme celui qui est à la fourche de la Rivière des Assiliboilles et cela par la proximité du fort de la Reine à celui de Maurepas.

The second establishment is fort Saint Charles to the south-west of the Lake of the Woods, distant from fort Saint Pierre eighty leagues. The tribes which inhabit these regions are Monsoni and Cree, who have long been allies.

The third establishment is fort Maurepas, down the river of the same name, near to where it flows into Lake Winnipeg, on the north side, a hundred leagues from fort Saint Charles. The tribe is Cree of the Bois fort.

The fourth establishment is fort La Reine, a hundred leagues from fort Maurepas on the north side of the river of the Assiniboin. A fort was formerly built by the Sieur de la Vérendrye, the elder, on the Red river five leagues from the lake. It is now abandoned, as is also the one at the fork of the river of the Assiniboin,[1] and that owing to the proximity of fort La Reine to fort Maurepas.

[1] The first of these abandoned posts was known as fort Maurepas, the same name afterwards being transferred to the post at the foot of Winnipeg river; the second was fort Rouge.

Les nations Sauvages du fort de la Reyne sont des Assiliboëls. Il n'y a que le bord des Rivières [planté] de bois et les bois communs sont des chênes blancs, ormes, frênes, bois inconnus, bois blancs et bouleaux. Tout le reste est prairies, où il se trouve des Iles de bois de chênes et pruniers.

Du fort de la Reine, il y a un portage de trois lieues au Nord-Est pour tomber au lac des Prairies. L'on suit le Sud du Lac jusqu'à la décharge d'une Rivière, qui vient des grandes Prairies, au bas de laquelle est le fort Dauphin, cinquième établissement. à la demande des Cristinaux des Prairies et des Assiliboels, De Canot. Il y a une route de là au fort de Bourbon, qui est le sixième établissement mais le chemin n'est pas avantageux. L'usage est, partant du fort de Maurepas, de passer par le Nord du lac Ounipigon jusqu'à son premier Détroit, où l'on traverse au Sud d'Ile

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The savage tribes of fort La Reine are Assiniboin. Trees grow only on the banks of the rivers, and the prevailing kinds are white oak, elm, ash, some unknown trees, bass and birch. All the rest is prairie, with here and there clumps of oak and wild plum.

From fort La Reine there is a portage of three leagues to the north-east to get into the Lake of the Prairies. You follow the south shore of the lake till you come to the mouth of a river [1] coming from the great prairies, at the lower end of which is fort Dauphin, the fifth establishment, made at the request of the Cree of the Prairies and the Canoe Assiniboin. There is a trail from there to fort Bourbon, which is the sixth establishment, but the road is not good. The custom is, leaving fort Maurepas to pass by the north of Lake Winnipeg as far as the first narrows, where you cross to the south from island to island, then you coast along as far

[1] Mossy river, which empties the waters of Dauphin lake into Lake Winnipegosis.

en Ile, puis on côtoie les terres, jusqu'à la Rivière aux Biches, où est le fort Bourbon, près du lac du même nom.

Les nations sont des Christinaux des Lacs et Petites Rivières. Du fort Bourbon à la Rivière Poskouyak, il y a trente lieues. Il y a un fort au bas de cette Rivière, qui est abandonné par faute de vivres pour l'hiver.

C'est aujourd'hui la route la plus commode pour poursuivre les découvertes de la mer d'Ouest, par la facilité d'y porter ses besoins par canot, d'y trouver des guides facilement, ayant toujours affaire à la même nation qui sont Christinos jusqu'à la hauteur des terres,—ce qui ne se peut rencontrer par le chemin des Prairies—Toutes différente nation ennemie, différentes langues, qui en fait l'obstacle et la difficulté ce qui a occasionné ci-devant des frais considérables au sieur De la Verendrye. Il ne connoissoit point pour lors la Rivière de Poskouyak.

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as Rivière aux Biches where fort Bourbon is, close to a lake of the same name.[1]

The tribes are Cree of the Lakes and Little Rivers.

From fort Bourbon to the river Poskoyac the distance is thirty leagues. There is a fort at the lower end of this river [2] which is abandoned for lack of provisions in winter.

It is to-day the most convenient route by which to pursue the discovery of the Western Sea from the ease with which you can transfer your effects thither by canoe, get guides there easily, and have always the same tribe, Cree, to deal with as far as the height of land, which is not the case by the prairie road. There you encounter different tribes, all enemies, and different languages, causes of hindrance and difficulty which occasioned considerable expense formerly to the Sieur de la Vérendrye. He did not know the Poskoyac river at that time.[3]

[1] Lake Bourbon, now Cedar lake. Rivière aux Biches, as before stated, is the present Moose river.

[2] That is to say, at the lower end of the present Pasquia river.

[3] Refers to La Vérendrye's attempts to reach the Western Sea by the overland route to the Missouri and beyond.

C'est le Chevalier De La Verendrye, qui, le premier, en a fait la découverte et qui a monté jusqu'à la fourche, où est le rendez-vous, tous les printemps, des Cristinos des Montagnes, Prairies et Rivières, pour délibérer ce qu'ils doivent faire, soit pour aller chez les François ou chez les Anglois.

C'est là, où il se trouva le printemps, à l'assemblée de tous les Cristinos, s'informa très exactement suivant l'ordre de M[onsieu]r son père, d'où pouvoit venir cette grosse Rivière. Ils luy répondirent tous d'une voix, qu'elle venoit de bien loin, d'une hauteur des terres où il y avoit des montagnes fort hautes, qu'ils avoient connoissance d'un grand lac de l'autre côté des Montagnes, dont on ne pouvoit boire d'eau.

La Rivière de Poskouyak vient du Ouest quart de Nor-Ouest, ce qui peut donner lieu d'espérer quelque chose.

Il est à propos d'aller établir un fort à cette hauteur de

It was the Chevalier de la Vérendrye who first discovered it and who ascended it as far as the fork,[1] which is the rendezvous every spring of the Cree of the Mountains, Prairies, and Rivers to deliberate as to what they shall do—go and trade with the French or with the English.

It was there that he was in the spring at the meeting of all the Cree, and where he enquired minutely, according to his father's orders, where the source of this great river was. They all replied with one voice that it came from very far, from a height of land where there were very lofty mountains; that they knew of a great lake on the other side of the mountains, the water of which was undrinkable.

The river Poskoyac comes from west one point north, which gives reason to hope for something.

It would be a good thing to go and establish a fort at this height or near to it, in a place where it would be advantageous

[1] The forks of the Saskatchewan, where the north and south branches unite to form the main stream.

terre ou à la proximité, dans un endroit avantageux pour la vie et commodité des Sauvages.

L'on ne peut se rendre à la hauteur que dans la seconde année du départ de Montréal, quelque diligence que l'on puisse faire, supposé même que les temps soient beaux. On peut aller hiverner au fort Bourbon de là pour partir dès le printemps.

On ne doit point douter des mesures et précautions qu'il faut prendre pour faire subsister son monde pendant l'hiver.

On peut s'attendre que Le sieur De la Verendrye ne négligera rien pour satisfaire aux intentions du Roy, afin de pouvoir dissuader la Cour de toutes les mauvaises impressions, que des personnes mal intentionnées avoient mis sur son compte sans l'avoir mérité.

Son but n'ayant été dans ses entreprises que la gloire du Roy et le bien de la colonie, et n'en départira jamais.

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for the savages as regards the necessities and conveniences of life.

The heights can be reached only in the second year after leaving Montreal, whatever diligence may be used and supposing the weather to be fine. You can winter at fort Bourbon and start from there in the spring.

There should be no doubt as to the measures and precautions that must be taken to feed one's people during the winter.

It may be fully relied on that the Sieur de la Vérendrye will neglect nothing that may aid in fulfilling the intentions of the King, as he is anxious to dispel from the mind of the Court the unfavourable impressions which some evil-minded persons have most unjustly created in regard to him.

His one object in his undertakings having been the glory of the King and the advantage of the colony, an object of which he will never lose sight.[1]

[1] Internal evidence would seem to point to the Chevalier de la Vérendrye as the author of this memorandum, prepared, no doubt, at the request of the Governor, La Jonquière.

R Boskaia

R d Crossmeaux

R Bourbon

F. Bourbon #

Lac Bourbon

Lac des Assiniboüemes ou Cuimipigon

R aux biches

F Daufin #

Lac des Prairies

Lac des Cignes

Païs

I aux Biches

Fort M

F la Reine #

R du Bœuf

Charles

F # Rouge

R Rouge

Lac Rouge

Païs des Tkou-a-chipoua

Païs des Sioux

R des Espagnols

49

Riviere St Pierre

Lac

R. des Assiniboüelles ou Riviere de l'ouest

Assiniboüemes

nation du Serpent

la belle nation

47

Chemin des Guerriers

Riviere des Mantanes qu'on croit etre le Missouris

Riviere de l'ouest ou R des Mantanes qu'on croit etre le Missouris

46

45

Village des Gnachipouanes

Carte des découvertes
de la Verendery

Carte d'une partie du Lac Superieur avec la decouverte de la Rivière depuis le grand portage A jusqu'à la Barrière B. le Fort St Charles est conftruit dans le Lac des Bois et dans le Lac Tekamamesuen, un fort qui porte le nom du Lac.

le Fort Tekamamisuen est par les 47° 15' de Latitude, le grand portage marqué A est par les 47°16 le Fort de Camanestigaien est par les 47°27' le Fort du Lac des Bois est par les 48°27' la Barrière est par les 49 Degréz.

On n'a mis en couleur d'eau que la Rivière nouvellement decouverte depuis A jusqu'à B. les autres Rivières qui sont au Trait sont mises sur la carte sur le rapport des Sauvages

dreſsée par M de la Jemeraye.

Avril 1750.

Il a été question depuis longtemps de la decouverte de la Mer de l'Ouest par les terres. Le S[ieu]r de la Veranderie a été chargé, avec ses enfans, de la conduitte de cette entreprise a l'exception des trois dernieres années qu'elle avoit été confiée au S[ieu]r de Noyelles.

Mais on avoit accusé les S[ieu]rs de la Veranderie de s'occuper bien plus a ramasser des pelleteries qu'a travailler a la decouverte ; et le S[ieu]r de Noyelle, après eux, y faisoit encore moins de progrès ; en sorte qu'on a été obligé de les rapeller des Postes qu'ils occupoient.

Cependant M[onsieur] de la Galissonniere a jugé à propos en 1748 de confier de nouveau cette entreprise au S[ieu]r de la Veranderie et on a écrit à M[onsieur] de la Jonquiere le 4 May 1749 que le Roy trouveroit bon qu'il luy permît de

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Report, April, 1750.

For a long time the question of discovering an overland route to the Western Sea has been mooted, and the Sieur de la Vérendrye and his sons have been entrusted with carrying out the enterprise, except during the last three years, when it was placed in the hands of the Sieur de Noyelles.

The Sieurs de la Vérendrye, however, were accused of giving much more attention to collecting furs than to the prosecution of their discovery, and the Sieur de Noyelles who succeeded them made even less progress with the business, so that it was necessary to recall them from the posts they were occupying.

Monsieur de la Galissonnière nevertheless considered it expedient in 1748 to confide the enterprise anew to the Sieur de la Vérendrye, and Monsieur de la Jonquière was written to on the fourth of May 1749 to say that the King would be glad if he would allow him to continue it, keeping

la continuer mais qu'il falloit le contenir sur l'objet de la traitte et luy prescrire de remettre chaque année un journal de ses operations.

M[onsieur] de la Jonquiere repond qu'il a conferé avec le S[ieu]r de la Veranderie qui luy a paru dans les sentimens qu'on doit desirer de luy et très disposé à remplir sa mission avec honneur. il a ordre de partir au commancem[en]t du Printemps et il sera prest. 22 Septemb 1749

Suivant la carte cy jointe et les observations du S[ieu]r de la Veranderie sur lesquelles elle a êté faitte il paroit que l'on peut se flatter d'un heureux succès. Le Chev[a]lier de la Veranderie a decouvert la rivière de Peskouyak ; il a monté jusqu'à la fourche ou est le rendés vous des Cristinos des montagnes, prairies et rivieres pour deliberer ce qu'ils ont à faire soit chés les françois soit chés les anglois.

Il s'est trouvé a une de leurs assemblées, il leur a demandé d'ou venoit cette Rivière, ils luy ont repondu qu'elle venoit

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a check upon him, however, in the matter of trading, and requiring him to send every year a journal of his operations.

Monsieur de la Jonquière replies that he has had a talk with the Sieur de la Vérendrye, who appeared to him to be animated by proper sentiments and entirely disposed to fulfil his mission in an honourable manner : he has orders to leave on the opening of spring and he will be prepared. 22 Septemb 1749

Judging by the map herewith and the information supplied by the Sieur de la Vérendrye on which it is based, it seems that we may count on the successful result. The Chevalier de la Vérendrye discovered the river Poskoyac, and went up as far as the fork, which is the meeting place of the Cree of the Mountains, Prairies and Rivers for deliberation as to what they shall do either among the French or among the English.

Being at one of their assemblies, he asked them whence that river came ; they answered him that it came from far,

de loin, d'une hauteur de terre ou il y avoit des montagnes fort elevées ; et qu'ils avoient connoissance d'un grand Lac de l'autre côté de ces montagnes dont l'eau n'est pas bonne a boire.

M[onsieur] de la Jonquière présume que cette eau est salée et qu'en la suivant on trouvera qu'elle vient de la Mer.

Le projet des S[ieu]rs de la Veranderie est de se rendre dans les premiers jours de Decembre 1750 au fort Bourbon d'ou ils se rendront par la premiere navigation de la Riviere de Peskouyak sur la hauteur des terres des montagnes : ils y construiront un fort le plus avantageux a la vie et a la commodité des sauvages Cristinos.

Dans le printemps d'ensuitte ils enverront prendre connoissance de la hauteur des terres des montagnes qui sont de l'autre côté et a portée desquelles est le grand Lac en question. Les sauvages de ce continent sont d'une nation

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from a height of land where there were very lofty mountains. and that beyond those mountains they knew of a great lake the water of which was not good to drink.

Monsieur de la Jonquière presumes that the water in question is salt, and that if it were followed it would be found to come from the sea.

What the Sieurs de la Vérendrye propose is to go early in December 1750 to fort Bourbon and then as soon as navigation becomes possible to follow up the river Poskoyac to the height of land in the mountains, where they will construct a fort that will be of the greatest advantage for the means of livelihood and convenience of the Cree.[1]

In the following spring they will send and get information as to the height of land of the mountains beyond, within reach of which is the great lake in question. The savages of that region are of an unknown tribe. The Sieur de la

[1] Some years later, in 1751, a party of men sent up the Saskatchewan by Boucher de Niverville, the lieutenant of Saint-Pierre, in the search for the Western Sea, are said to have built fort La Jonquière. The exact whereabouts of this post has been a matter of some speculation. See *Search for the Western Sea*, pp. 273–77.

inconnüe. Le S[ieu]r de la Veranderie a prevenu M[onsieur] de la Jonquiere qu'il ne pourroit luy rendre compte de ses opérations que dans la troisieme année et que cependant il luy ecriroit par toutes les occasions.

Le chev[ali]er de la Veranderie a envoyé a M[onsieur] de la Galissonniere deux morceaux de pierre qui luy ont été remis par les Cristinos et dont ils font grand cas dans leurs medecines. ils luy ont dit qu'ils les avoient eus d'une montagne située vers ces quartiers, qui jette des flammes et fait grand bruit.

Lettre de M. de la Vérendrye.

Monseigneur,

Quoique je n'aie pas l'honneur d'être personnellement connu de vous, j'ai celui de vous exposer que je sers depuis

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Vérendrye informed Monsieur de la Jonquière that he could not give him an account of his operations before the third year, and that nevertheless he would write by every occasion.

The Chevalier de la Vérendrye sent to Monsieur de la Galissonnière two pieces of stone given to him by the Cree, and to which they ascribe great medicinal virtue ; they told him that they had got them from a mountain situated in that direction which vomits flames and makes a great noise.[1]

Pierre de la Vérendrye to Rouillé.[2]

Monseigneur,

Although I have not the honour to be personally known to you I have that of representing to you that I have been

[1] If there is any foundation for this story, it doubtless refers to a burning coal seam somewhere in the west. A notable case of this kind is the bed of lignite in the banks of the Mackenzie river, a few miles above the mouth of Bear river, which Alexander Mackenzie found burning in 1789. Franklin noted that it was burning in 1825 when he passed that way ; it was still burning in 1848 when Richardson went down the river ; and in 1906, when E. Stewart, then Superintendent of Forestry, descended the Mackenzie, he says : ' For upwards of two miles along the right bank of the river smoke is distinctly observed from fires still burning far down in the seams.'

[2] Without place or date.

vingt-cinq ans Sa Majesté, sans avoir pu obtenir un avancement, que je pensais avoir mérité par mes services. J'ai eu le désagrément de voir plusieurs de mes inférieurs préférés à moi dans les promotions qui ont été données au Canada en divers temps. Je n'ai rien oublié cependant pour donner des marques de mon zèle dans les occasions qui se sont présentées. Le mémoire, que je prends la liberté de vous adresser, vous confirmera aisément ce que j'avance, trop heureux si sa teneur vous excite à m'être favorable.

Je suis né sans protection. Les services de feu mon père, qui est mort chevalier de Saint-Louis, capitaine des troupes de la Nouvelle-France et qui a été blessé dans la bataille de Malplaquet sous les ordres de M. le maréchal de Villars, devroient me procurer quelque chose d'avantageux et de profitable pour toutes les dépenses, que j'ai faites, en en-

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twenty-five years in the service of His Majesty without having been able to obtain promotion, which I thought my services had merited. I have had the disagreeable experience of seeing several of my juniors preferred to me at different times when promotions have been given in Canada. Nevertheless I have omitted nothing that could give evidence of my zeal when occasions have arisen. The memorandum which I take the liberty of addressing to you will abundantly confirm what I state, and I shall be only too happy if its tenor should move you to regard me with favour.

I was born without protection. The services of my late father, who died a Chevalier of St. Louis and captain of the troops of New France, and who was wounded at the battle of Malplaquet [1] under the command of Field-Marshal Villars,[2] ought to have procured me some advantage and profit for all the expense I have incurred in devoting a portion of my

[1] On September 11, 1709, Marlborough defeated the French under Villars.

[2] Charles Louis Hector, duc de Villars, and Marshal of France (1653–1734).

gageant une partie de mes biens pour effectuer le projet qu'avoit fait la Cour, pour les établissements faits à la mer du Ouest, et qui existent tous présentement. Je vois avec peine que d'autres les occupent à notre préjudice et augmenteront considérablement leurs estimes, et que nous en avons été retirés dans le temps que nous pouvions espérer d'y liquider nos affaires. Ces considérations me déterminent avec confiance à vous supplier très humblement de protéger un officier sans appui. Il ne pourra qu'être reconnoissant de ce que vous voudrez bien lui accorder, en vous assurant qu'il sera toujours avec un très profond respect,

Monseigneur,

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

LAVERANDRY.

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means to carry out the project which the Court had formed for the creation of establishments at the Western Sea which are all in existence at this day. I see with sorrow that others are occupying them to our prejudice, and will considerably augment the importance attached to them, while we have been ousted from them just at the time when we might have hoped to put our affairs on a sound footing. These considerations determine me, and give me confidence, to beseech you very humbly to protect an officer who has no other support. He cannot fail to be grateful to you for what you may be kind enough to bestow on him, assuring you that he will always remain with profound respect,

Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

LAVÉRENDRYE.[1]

[1] Pierre de la Vérendrye, second, and at this time eldest surviving, son of the explorer. Dr. R. G. Thwaites notes that he was ensign in 1744, lieutenant in 1756. It appears from his own memorandum, following this letter, that he received his epaulettes from Beauharnois in 1747, and a brevet of an ensigncy of the second class from La Galissonnière, apparently the following year. This is no doubt the promotion referred to in his father's letter of September 17, 1749.

Memoire des services de Pierre Gaultier de la Verendrye l'aisné, qu'il a l'honneur de présenter à Monseigneur Rouillé, Ministre et Secrétaire d'Estat du Département de la Marine.

En 1728 il est entrée dans les trouppes en qualité de cadet soldat et a tenû garnison à Montréal pendant deux année.

En 1731, il fut détaché par M[onsieur] de Beauharnois pour aller avec son père faire des découvertes dans l'Ouest ou il a resté six année de suitte pour apprendre les langues des nations à mesure qu'ils en découvriroient, comme effectivement ils en découvrir sept, le tout à leur fraix, ce qui leur a couté des sommes considérables. En 1738, il revint avec son Père qui amenoit à M[onsieur] le M[arqu]is de Beauharnois, un des principaux chef de ses nations qui venoit pour prendre la parolle de leur Père, pour la faire prendre aussy à ses jeunes gens, lorsqu'il seroit de retour dans son

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Memorandum of the services of Pierre Gaultier de la Vérendrye the elder, which he has the honour to present to Monseigneur Rouillé, Minister and Secretary of State of the Department of Marine.[1]

In 1728 he joined the troops as a soldier cadet and did garrison duty at Montreal for two years.

In 1731 he was detached by Monsieur de Beauharnois to go with his father to make discoveries in the west, where he remained for six years continuously to learn the languages of the tribes as they were successively discovered, as in fact they were to the number of seven, the whole at their own cost, the amount of which was considerable.

In 1738 he returned with his father, who was bringing down to the Marquis de Beauharnois one of the principal chiefs of those tribes to hear the word of their Father, that he might convey it also to the young men on his return to his village.

[1] Without place or date.

village, il servy d'interprette à ce chef, et a remonté l'année suivante avec luy pour faire l'établissement du fort La Reine et du fort D'offin, ce qui leur a couté beaucoup, ce qu'ils firent par la sollicitation des sauvages et les intentions de Sa Majesté pour empêcher ses nations d'aller chés l'Anglois comme ils avoient toujours faits. En 1741, il party seul avec deux françois pour aller faire de nouvelles découvertes qu'il a poussé jusqu'au près de deux forts Espagnol, mais la crainte bien fondé qu'il avoit des ennemis et plus tôt encore le manque de guide l'ont obligé de revenir plutôt qu'il ne l'auroit fait, il trouva même un party qui le poursuivirent vivement, il reconnu avant que de les laisser qu'ils étoient Scioux des Prairies, ce qui luy fit prendre le party de revenir au fort La Reine, d'où il party subitement pour aller faire l'établissement du fort D'auphin et pour inviter les sauvages à venir au fort et par ce moyen les détourner

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He [the writer] served as interpreter to this chief and went back with him the following year to establish fort La Reine and fort Dauphin, which cost them a good deal and which they did at the solicitation of the savages and in accordance with the intentions of His Majesty, so as to prevent the tribes from going to trade with the English as they had always done.

In 1741 he went alone with two Frenchmen to make new discoveries, which he pushed to a point not far from two Spanish forts ; but a well-founded fear that he had of enemies, and still more the lack of a guide, obliged him to return sooner than he should otherwise have done. He found indeed a party in keen pursuit of him, and before leaving them behind learnt that they were Sioux of the Prairies, which caused him to decide on returning to fort La Reine, whence he left very shortly afterwards to go and effect the establishment of fort Dauphin and to invite the savages to come to the fort and thus prevent their going to the English as they

d'aller aux Anglois, ce qu'ils firent pour la pluspart, lorsque tout y fût tranquille il revint au fort la Reine où il passa l'année et revint à Montréal en 1745.

En 1745 de Québec il fût détaché par M[onsieur] de Beauharnois pour aller en guerre sous les ordres de M[onsieur] de S[ain]t Pierre à Sarastawe, à son retour il eût ordre pour aller passer l'hyver sur les mêmes frontières d'Angleterre sous les ordres du même Commandant.

En 1746, le cinq May il fût détaché pour aller à la Cady sous les ordres de M[onsieur] de S[ain]t Pierre où il fût sitôt l'arrivée de M[onsieur] de Ramezay sous les ordres de M[onsieur] de Montesson au coup qui se fit au Port La

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usually did. When all was quiet he returned to fort La Reine, where he spent the year, and returned to Montreal in 1745.

In 1745 he was detached from Quebec by Monsieur de Beauharnois and sent on a campaign under the orders of Monsieur de Saint-Pierre at Sarastaw, and on his return he was ordered to go and pass the winter on the same English frontier under the same commander.[1]

On the fifth of May 1746 he was detached to go to Acadia under the orders of Monsieur de Saint Pierre, but immediately on the arrival there of Monsieur de Ramesay [2] he was placed under Monsieur de Montesson,[3] on the occasion

[1] This was during King George's War, 1744–48. Saint-Pierre was in command at Niagara in 1745, and relieved the garrison on Lake Champlain the same year. 'Sarastaw' is probably Saratoga, an expedition against which in 1745 was commanded by Paul Marin.

[2] Jean-Baptiste Nicolas Roch de Ramesay, born 1708, son of Claude de Ramesay, governor of Montreal; listed as ensign 1720, lieutenant 1726, captain 1734, held a command in Acadia 1745–49, town major of Quebec 1752, afterwards made lieutenant de roi; served under Montcalm during the siege, and surrendered Quebec, 1759; returned to France after the cession of Canada.

[3] Joseph Michel Le Gardeur, Sieur de Montesson, born 1716, son of Pierre Charles Le Gardeur de Croisille et de Portneuf, seigneur de Bécancour. In 1759 he commanded a detachment at Quebec, and is mentioned in the list of French *noblesse* as resident at Three Rivers in November 1767; his name again appears in 1775 as a loyalist.

Joye de l'Isle S[ain]t Jean avec les sauvages, après être revenu à la Cadie, il eût ordre de M[onsieur] de Beauharnois pour revenir par terre avec les Hurons en Canada.

En 1747, il fût détaché sous les ordres de M[onsieu]rs le Ch[evali]er de la Corne et de S[ain]t Pierre pour couper chemin aux Anniers qui venoient faire des prisonniers près Montréal et s'est trouvé au coup qui se fît et tout de suitte fut détache pour aller exploiter les Postes de l'Ouest. Il reçût l'Eguillet avant de partir pour marque de satisfaction qu'avoit M[onsieur] de Beauharnois de ses services, étant

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of the attack with the savages upon Port La Joye on St. John Island.[1] After returning to Acadia he received orders from Monsieur de Beauharnois to return to Canada with the Hurons by land.

In 1747 he was detached under the orders of the Chevalier de la Corne[2] and Monsieur de Saint-Pierre to intercept the Anniers[3] who were coming to take prisoners near Montreal, and was present at the action that took place, and immediately thereafter was detached to go and operate the posts in the west. He received his *aiguillettes* before leaving as a mark of the Marquis de Beauharnois' satisfaction with his services.

[1] The old name for Prince Edward Island. Port La Joye is now Charlottetown.

[2] Probably Louis Luc de La Corne, Sieur de St. Luc, born 1712, lieutenant in colonial troops 1733, and captain 1744. He had already seen service on Lake Champlain and in Acadia; served under Bougainville in Lake Champlain campaign 1757; in Quebec, with La Vérendrye, 1759, when proposals were made to Vaudreuil for the defence of the western posts; one of six who escaped in the shipwreck of *L'Auguste* off the coast of Cape Breton 1761; remained in Canada, and became member of first Legislative Council, 1775; commanded the Indians with Burgoyne 1777; accused of complicity in the Walker affair, tried and acquitted; died 1784. See Sulte, *Les Canadiens français*, vii. 128.

[3] A name for the Mohawks. On de l'Isle's map of 1718 the name is spelt as given here. La Potherie has *Anié*; Hennepin gives *Agniers*; Galinée, *Agnieronons*; Frontenac, *Agniez*. There are many other variants, for which see Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, under title 'Mohawk.'

à Michilimakinac il fut arrêté par M[onsieur] Desnoyelles qui y commandoit pour lors, attendu le dérangement et le divorce qui étoit entre les nations, mais au bout de quelques tems il prit sur luy d'aller avec bien de la misère dans les Postes, où il ne trouva presque point de sauvages, mais il fît son possible et vient à bout de les faire revenir de chés les Anglois de qui ils avoient desjà reçû les colliers pour deffaire les françois, mais leur ayant parlé de la part de leur Père M[onsieur] de Beauharnois et leur avoir fait de grand présent à ses fraix ils revienrent traittables et bien disposé, il leur laissâ le cadet de ses frères et revient à Michilimakinak

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At Michilimackinac he was stopped by Monsieur de Noyelles, who was in command there at the time, on account of confusion and strife then existing among the Indian tribes; but after a while he took upon himself to go, with much trouble, to the posts, and found that the savages were nearly all gone. He did his best, however, and succeeded in getting them back from the trading-posts of the English, from whom they had already received collars for the [commercial] defeat of the French; but after he had talked to them in the name of their Father, Monsieur de Beauharnois, and made them handsome presents at his expense they came back tractable and well disposed. He left his brother the cadet[1] with them, and returned to Michilimackinac, where he received, with the orders of Monsieur

[1] Louis-Joseph de la Vérendrye. This establishes the presence of both Pierre and Louis in the west, 1747–48, and probably 1749–50. From what follows it will be seen that Pierre returned to Michilimackinac, again went west to fort La Reine, and on his return the second time to Michilimackinac received news of the death of his father. As his father died December 1749 the news could not have reached Michilimackinac until the spring of 1750. His first return to Michilimackinac was probably in the spring of 1749. The baptismal records of that post, under date April 6, 1750, state that Father Du Jaunay baptised a young slave 'given to this mission last year out of gratitude by M. le Chevalier de la Vérendreye on his return from the extreme west.' If François was the Chevalier, he evidently accompanied his elder brother to Michilimackinac.

où il reçû avec les ordres de M[onsieur] de la Galissonière, un Espectative d'Enseigne en second.

Il party pour retourner au fort la Reine qu'il trouva presque tombé en ruine qu'il fit rétablir et mettre en bon ordre aussy bien que le fort Maurepas qui avoit été brulé par les sauvages, et qu'il n'a pû faire sans beaucoup de dépense et par là se trouva fort dérangé dans son commerce, ses marchandises ayant été presque touttes employées pour ses réparations, de là revient à Michilimakinac où il reçut la nouvelle de la mort de son père ce qui luy a causé aussy bien qu'à ses frères, bien du chagrin, de se voir relevé et perdre un père dans le tems qu'ils s'estoient tous proposé de poursuivre les découvertes, non seulement ils ont fait des pertes considérables pour les établissements des Postes de l'Ouest, mais encore leur a-t-on ôté la jouissance d'un bien

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de la Galissonnière, a brevet of an ensigncy of the second class.

He left there to return to fort La Reine, which he found nearly in ruins, but which he caused to be built up and put in good order, as well as fort Maurepas, which had been burnt by the savages. He could not do this without much expense, and his business affairs were consequently much disarranged, his goods for sale having been nearly all employed for repairs.[1]

Thence he returned to Michilimackinac, where he received news of the death of his father ; and a great grief it was to himself and his brothers to lose their father and be deprived of their employment at the very time when they all proposed to engage in discoveries ; not only have they incurred heavy losses in the establishment of the posts of the west, but they have in addition been deprived of the enjoyment of an advantage which they regarded as a fruit

[1] That is, in payment for services in rebuilding the posts.

qu'ils regardoient comme un fruit de leurs travaux ayant passé leur jeunesse, dépensé leur bien, vendu même ceux qu'ils avoient en Canada pour suppléer à ce qui leur manquoit pour parfaire un établissement sy favorable au Canada.

Après touttes ses dépenses, ils ont eû la douleur de voir recueillir par un étranger le raisin des vignes qu'ils ont eû la peine de planter, les crédits qu'ils avoient faits perdus, leur marchandises restés dans les postes donné sans espérance d'en retirer aucun profit, leur vivres mangé par des désintéressé et encore se sert-on de leurs engagés qu'il faut qu'ils payent, tout cela fera connoître le malheur de la perte d'un père, celle des biens, sans avancement, sans fortune, bien des dettes et sans espérance de voir jour à les satisfaire.

L'honneur de votre protection Monseigneur pour un officier tels que moy suffiroit pour informer Sa Majesté du

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of their labours, have devoted their youth, expended their means, sold even any property they possessed in Canada, to make up what was lacking to perfect a system of establishments so profitable for Canada.

After all their outlay they have had the grief of seeing a stranger pluck the grapes from the vine which they had had the trouble of planting,[1] the credits which they had made lost, such of their goods as remained in the forts given away without hope of deriving profit from them, their provisions consumed by outsiders, while, in addition to all this, the hired men whom they have to pay are being employed by others. All this will reveal their situation, their father gone, their money gone, without advancement, without fortune, burdened with debts, and with no visible hope of discharging them.

The honour of your protection, Monseigneur, for an officer like myself would suffice to inform His Majesty of

[1] As appears from La Jonquière's letter of February 27, 1750, Saint-Pierre had been sent to take charge of the posts of the Western Sea.

vray qui vous est alégué pour procurer l'avancement de celuy qui en a le plus besoin, et un dédommagement à touttes ses pertes seroit capable d'exiter de plus en plus le zelle ardent qui la toujours guidé, n'ayant rien de plus à cœur que de remplir ses devoirs, et l'attachement qu'il a au service de Sa Majesté, il ne cessera d'offrir ses vœux au ciel pour votre conservation.

LAVERANDRY LAISNÉ.

Lettre de Monsieur de la Veranderie, fils.

à Montréal le 30 Septembre 1750.

Monseigneur

Il ne me reste d'autre ressource que de me jetter aux pieds de Votre Grandeur et de l'importuner du récit de mes malheur.

Je m'appelle La Verendrie, feu mon Père est connu icy

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the truth of what I have stated and to procure the promotion of one who had the greatest need of it; while a compensation for all his losses would serve to stimulate more and more the ardent zeal that has always actuated him. As he has nothing more at heart than to fulfil his duties and prove his attachment to the service of His Majesty, he will not cease to offer his vows to heaven for your preservation.

LAVÉRENDRYE THE ELDER.

The Chevalier de la Vérendrye to Rouillé.

Montreal, September 30, 1750.

Monseigneur,

The only resource left to me is to throw myself at the feet of Your Lordship and trouble you with the story of my misfortunes.

My name is La Vérendrye: my late father is known here

et en France par la découverte de la Mer de l'Ouest à laquelle il a sacrifié plus de quinze des dernières années de sa vie, il a marché et nous a fait marcher mes frères et moy d'une façon à pouvoir toucher au but quel quil soit, s'il y eût été plus aidé et s'il n'eût pas été tant traversé surtout par l'envie ; l'envie est encore icy plus qu'ailleurs une passion à la mode dont il n'est pas possible de se garentir, tandis que mon père avec mes frères et moy s'excédoit de fatigues et de dépenses, ses pas n'étoient représentés que comme des pas vers la découverte du castor ses dépenses forcées n'étoient que dissipation et ses relations n'étoient que mansonges, l'envie de ce païs n'est pas une envie à demi, elle a pour principe de s'acharner à dire du mal dans l'espérance que pour peu que la moitié des mauvais discours prenne faveur cela suffira pour nuire, et effectivement mon père ainsy deservi a eu la

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and in France by the exploration for the discovery of the Western Sea to which he devoted more than fifteen of the last years of his life. He travelled and made myself and my brothers travel with such vigour that we should have reached our goal, whatever it was, if he had only had a little more help, and if he had not been so much thwarted especially by envy.

Envy is still here, more than elsewhere, a prevailing passion against which one has no protection. While my father, with my brothers and myself, was exhausting himself with toil and incurring a crushing burden of expense, his steps were represented only as directed towards the finding of beaver ; the outlay he was forced to incur was described as dissipation, and his narratives as a pack of lies.

Envy, as it exists in this country, is no half envy ; its principle is to calumniate furiously in the hope that if even one half of what is said finds favour it will be enough to injure ; and in point of fact my father, thus opposed, has

douleur de retourner et de nous faire retourner plus d'un fois en arrière faute de secours et de protection, il a même quelques fois reçu des reproches de la Cour, plus occupé de marcher que de raconter, jusqu'à ce qu'il pût raconter plus juste, il s'endettoit, il n'avoit point de part aux promotions et il n'en étoit pas moins zélé pour son projet, persuadé que tôt ou tard ses travaux ne seroient pas sans succès et sans récompense.

Dans le tems qu'il se livroit le plus à ses bonnes dispositions l'envie eut le dessus, il vit passer entre les mains d'un autre des postes tout établis et son propre ouvrage, pendant qu'il étoit ainsy arrêté dans sa course le castor arrivoit assés abondamment pour un autre que pour luy, mais les Postes bien loin de se multiplier dépérissoient et la découverte ne faisoit aucun progrès, c'est ce qui le désoloit le plus.

M[onsieur] le M[arqu]is de la Galissonière arriva dans

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more than once been obliged to his sorrow to turn back and make us turn back owing to lack of help and protection.

He has even sometimes been reproached by the Court because he was more intent on advancing than on talking about it until he could give more definite statements. He was running into debt, he failed to receive promotion, yet his zeal for his project never slackened, persuaded as he was that sooner or later his labours would be crowned with success and recompense.

At the time when he was most eager in the good work, envy won the day, and he saw the posts he had established and his own work pass into the hands of another. While he was thus arrested in his operations the beaver was coming in very abundantly for another than himself, but the posts, instead of multiplying, fell into decay, and no progress was made in exploration : it was that which grieved him the most.

Meantime the Marquis de la Galissonnière arrived in

le païs sur ces entrefaites, et à travers tout ce qui se disoit en bien et en mal il jugea, qu'un homme qui avoit poussé de pareilles découvertes à ses frais et dépens sans qu'il en eût rien coûté au Roy et qui s'étoit endetté pour de bons établissements méritoit un autre sort. Beaucoup de castor de plus dans la colonie et au profit de la Comp[agn]ie des Indes, quatre et cinq Postes bien établis au loin par des forts aussi bons qu'ils puissent être dans des contrées aussi éloignées, nombre de sauvages devenus les sujets du Roy et dont quelques uns dans un party que je commandois donnèrent l'exemple à nos sauvages domiciliés de frapper sur les Anniers

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the country, and in the hubbub of contradictory opinions that prevailed the conclusion he came to was, that the man who had pursued such discoveries at his own charge and expense without its costing the King anything, and who had gone into debt in order to establish useful posts, merited better fortune.

A large increase of beaver in the colony and for the benefit of the India Company,[1] four or five well-established posts far away [and defended] by forts as good as they could be made in countries so distant, a multitude of savages turned into subjects of the King, some of whom in a party which I commanded showed an example to our own domiciled

[1] The Company of the Indies grew out of the Mississippi Company organized by John Law in 1717. It was reorganized under the above title two years later, and was granted a monopoly of the beaver trade in 1721. Its general trading operations embraced all the French colonies, in India as well as Canada and Louisiana. It ceased to exist in 1770. The following extract from a despatch from Hocquart to Maurepas, dated October 26, 1735, gives some idea of the extent and value of the fur trade in La Vérendrye's day: 'The receipts from beaver skins have been considerable this year, notwithstanding the troubles and the war expeditions in the upper country, because the post among the Sioux and the new posts established for the discovery of the Sea of the west have secured nearly 100 thousand very good skins. The total receipts amounted to 178 thousand livres.' On the fur trade, see Parkman, *Old Régime in Canada*; Biggar, *Early Trading Companies of New France*; and *Wis. Hist. Coll.* vols. xvi, xvii, xviii, and xix.

sauvages dévoués à l'Angleterre, parurent de véritables services, indépendamment du projet commencé de la découverte et dont le succez ne pouvoit etre ny plus prompt ni plus efficace qu'en restant entre les mêmes mains.

C'est ainsi que M[onsieur] le M[arqu]is de la Galissonière a bien voulu s'en expliquer, et sans doute il s'en est expliqué de même à la Cour, puisque mon Père l'année d'ensuite qui étoit l'année dernière se trouva honoré de la Croix de S[ain]t Louis et invité à continuer l'ouvrage commencé avec ses enfans, il se disposoit à partir de tout son cœur, il n'épargnoit rien pour réussir, il avoit desjà achetté et préparé toutes les marchandises de traitte, il m'inspiroit et à mes frères son ardeur, lorsque la mort l'a enlevé le . . . du mois de Décembre dernier.

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savages by striking at the Anniers [1] Indians who are devoted to England, appeared to be real services rendered, independently of the project of discovery that had been commenced, the success of which could only be hastened and rendered more efficacious by allowing it to remain in the same hands.

Thus it was that the Marquis de la Galissonnière was good enough to explain his position, and no doubt he expressed himself to a similar effect to the Court, seeing that my father in the following year, that is to say last year, was honoured with the Cross of St. Louis and invited to continue with his sons the work he had begun.

He made arrangements with great earnestness for starting on his expedition, he spared nothing that might make for success, he had already bought and prepared all the goods to be used in trade, he inspired me and my brothers with his own ardour, when death carried him off on the . . . [2] of the month of December last.

[1] See footnote 3, p. 498.

[2] Date blank in original. In the copy published by Pierre Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements des Français*, v. 6, the date is given as December 6. La Jonquière's letter of February 27, 1750, confirms this.

Quelque grande que fût alors ma douleur, je n'aurois jamais pû imaginer ny prévoir tout ce que je perdois en perdant mon Père, succédant à ses engagements et à ses charges j'osois espérer la succession des mêmes avantages, j'eus l'honneur d'en écrire sur le champs à M[onsieur] le M[arqu]is de la Jonquière en l'informant que j'étois rétabli d'une indisposition qui m'étoit survenüe et qui pouvoit servir de prétexte à quelqu'un pour chercher à me supplanter. il me fût répondu qu'il avoit fait choix de M[onsieur] de S[ain]t Pierre pour aller à la Mer de l'Ouest.

Je partis aussitôt de Montréal ou j'étois pour Québec, je représentai la situation où me laissoit mon père qu'il y avoit plus d'un poste à la Mer de l'Ouest, que mes frères et moy serions charmés d'être sous les ordres de M[onsieur] de S[ain]t Pierre, que nous nous contenterions s'il le falloit d'un seul poste et du poste le plus reculé, que même nous ne demandions qu'à aller en avant, qu'en poussant les découvertes

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Great as was my grief at the time, I could never have imagined nor foreseen all that I lost in losing my father. Succeeding to his engagements and responsibilities, I ventured to hope that I should succeed to the same advantages. I had the honour to write on the subject at once to the Marquis de la Jonquière, informing him that I had recovered from an indisposition from which I had been suffering, and which might serve as a pretext to some one seeking to supplant me. His reply was that he had chosen Monsieur de Saint-Pierre to go to the Western Sea.

I started at once from Montreal where I was for Quebec ; I represented the situation in which I was left by my father ; there was more than one post in the direction of the Western Sea ; I and my brothers would be delighted to be under the orders of Monsieur de Saint-Pierre ; we would content ourselves, if necessary, with a single post and the most distant one ; we even limited our request to going in advance, so

nous pourrions tirer partie des derniers achats de feu mon Père et de ce qui nous restoit encore dans les Postes, que du moins nous aurions ainsy la consolation de faire nos plus grands efforts pour répondre aux vües de la Cour.

M[onsieur] le M[arqu]is de la Jonquière pressé et même à ce qu'il m'a parut touché de mes représentations me dit enfin que M[onsieur] de S[ain]t Pierre ne vouloit ni de moy, ny de mes frères, je demandai ce que deviendroient nos crédits, M[onsieur] de S[ain]t Pierre avoit parlé il ne restoit rien à obtenir, je retournai à Montréal avec ce consolant éclaircissement, je mis en vente une petite terre, seul effect de la succession de feu mon Père dont les deniers ont servi à satisfaire les créanciers les plus pressés.

Cependant la saison s'avancoit, il s'agissoit d'aller à l'ordinaire au rendés vous marqué de mes engagés pour leur sauver la vie et recevoir les retours sujets sans cette pré-

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that, while pushing the work of exploration, we might be able to derive advantage from my deceased father's latest purchases and from what remained to us in the posts ; that we should thus have the consolation of making our utmost efforts to meet the wishes of the Court.

The Marquis de la Jonquière, though feeling the force of my representations, and as it seemed to me touched by them, told me at last that Monsieur de Saint-Pierre did not want either me or my brothers. I asked what would become of our credits, but Monsieur de Saint-Pierre had spoken, and I could not obtain anything. I returned to Montreal with this consoling information and offered for sale a small piece of property, all that I had inherited from my late father, the proceeds of which served to satisfy my most urgent creditors.

Meanwhile the season was advancing ; it was a question of going as usual to the rendezvous assigned to my hired men so as to save their lives, and get the returns which,

caution a être pillés et abandonnés, j'ai obtenu cette permission avec bien de la peine, malgré M[onsieur] de S[ain]t Pierre et seulement à des conditions et des restrictions faittes pour le dernier des voiageurs, encore à peine M[onsieur] de S[ain]t Pierre me vit-il parti qu'il se plaignit que mon départ avant le sien luy faisoit un tort de plus de dix mille francs et qu'il m'accusa sans autre cérémonie d'avoir chargé mon canot au delà de la permission qui m'étoit accordée.

L'accusation fût examinée, on envoia à la poursuite de mon canot, et si on m'eût rejoint dès lors M[onsieur] de S[ain]t Pierre se seroit rassuré plustôt, il m'a rejoint à Missilimakinak et si je dois l'en croire, il a eu tort d'en agir ainsi, il est bien fâché de ne pas m'avoir ny mes frères avec luy, il m'a témoigné beaucoup de regrets et m'a fait bien des compliments, quoiqu'il en soit tel est son procédé il m'est difficil d'y trouver de la bonne foy et de l'humanité.

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without this precaution, would be liable to be pillaged and abandoned. I obtained permission to do this in spite of Monsieur de Saint-Pierre, and only subject to conditions and restrictions such as might be imposed on the commonest voyageur ; even so, scarcely had I left before Monsieur de Saint-Pierre complained of my having done so, alleging that my starting before him injured him to the amount of more than ten thousand francs ; he also accused me without the slightest ceremony of having loaded my canoe beyond the permission accorded me.

The accusation was examined and my canoe was pursued ; if I had been caught up with, Monsieur de Saint-Pierre would have been earlier reassured. He overtook me at Michilimackinac, and if I can believe what he said, he was in the wrong in acting as he did ; he was vexed with himself for not having me and my brothers with him. He expressed much regret to me and paid me many compliments. However it may be, that is his mode of acting ; it is difficult for me to recognize either good faith or humanity in it.

M[onsieur] de S[aint] Pierre pouvoit obtenir tout ce qu'il a obtenû, assûrer ses intérest par des avantages qui surprennent et amener un parent avec luy sans nous donner une entière exclusion. M[onsieur] de S[ain]t Pierre est un officier de mérite et je n'en suis que plus à plaindre de l'avoir ainsy trouvé contre moy, mais avec toutes les bonnes idées qu'il a pû donner de luy dans différentes occasions, il aura de la peine à prouver qu'en cela il a eû en veu le bien de la chose, qu'en cela il s'est conformé aux intentions de la Cour et a respecté les bontés dont M[onsieur] le M[arqu]is de la Galissonière nous honore, il faut même pour qu'il nous soit fait un pareil tort qu'il nous ait bien nui auprès de M[onsieur] le M[is]. de la Jonquière par luy même tousjours disposé à faire du bien.

Je n'en suis pas moins ruiné, mes retours de cette année receüillis à moitié et à la suitte de mille inconvénients achèvent ma ruine, compte arrestés tant du fait de mon Père que du

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Monsieur de Saint-Pierre might have obtained all he has obtained, made sure of his interests by surprising advantages, and taken some relative with him without shutting us out entirely. Monsieur de Saint-Pierre is an officer of merit, and I am only the more to be pitied to find him thus turned against me; but, with all the favourable impressions he has created on different occasions, he will find it difficult to prove that in this matter he kept the main interest [the discovery] in view, that he conformed to the intentions of the Court and respected the kindly dispositions with which the Marquis de la Galissonnière honours us. Before such a wrong could be done us he must have injured us seriously in the opinion of Monsieur de la Jonquière, who himself is always disposed to do good.

All the same I am ruined; my returns for this year only half collected, and then after a thousand difficulties, make the disaster complete; with credit stopped in relation both

mien je me trouve endetté de plus de vingt mille francs, je reste sans fonds ny patrimoine, je suis simple Enseigne en second, mon frère aisné n'a que le même grade que moy et mon frère cadet n'est que Cadet à l'Eguillette Voilà le fruit actuel de tout ce que mon père mes frères et moy avons fait, celuy de mes frères qui fût assassiné il ya quelques année par les sauvages toute victime qu'il est de la Mer de l'Ouest n'est pas le plus malheureux, son sang n'est pour nous d'aucun mérite, les sueurs de mon père et les nôtres nous deviennent inutiles, il nous faut abandonner ce qui nous a tant coûté à moins que M[onsieur] de S[ain]t Pierre ne reprenne de meilleurs sentiments et ne les communique à M[onsieur] le M[arqu]is de la Jonquière, certainement nous n'aurions point été ni ne serions point inutiles à M[onsieur] de S[ain]t Pierre je ne luy ai rien caché de ce que j'ai crû pouvoir luy

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to my father and myself, I am in debt for over twenty thousand francs; I remain without funds and without patrimony; I am a simple ensign of the second grade; my elder brother has only the same rank as myself, while my brother the cadet[1] is only a *cadet à l'aiguillette*.

Such is the net result of all that my father, my brothers and I have done. The one who was murdered some years ago by the savages,[2] victim as he was of the search for the Western Sea, was not the most unfortunate of us; his blood does not count in our behalf; all my father's toils and ours fail to serve us, and we must abandon what has cost us so much, unless Monsieur de Saint-Pierre becomes imbued with better sentiments and communicates them to the Marquis de la Jonquière.

We certainly should not have been and should not be

[1] The meaning of *cadet* in the days of Vérendrye seems to have been 'the one coming after the eldest by order of birth.' See Hatzfeld and Darmesteler, *Dict. de la Langue Française*. This would make François the *cadet*, and consequently Louis-Joseph the *Chevalier*.

[2] Jean-Baptiste de la Vérendrye, killed by the Sioux on Massacre Island, Lake of the Woods, June 1736.

servir, mais quelque habile qu'il soit, et en luy supposant la meilleure volonté, j'ose dire qu'il s'est exposé à faire bien des faux pas et à s'égarer plus d'un jour en nous excluant d'avec luy, c'est une avance que de s'êstre desjà égaré et il nous semble que nous serions seurs actuellement de la droite route pour parvenir au terme quel qu'il puisse être, notre plus grand supplice est de nous trouver ainsy arrachés d'une sphère que nous nous proposions de terminer de tous nos efforts.

Daignés d'onc, Monseigneur, juger la cause de trois orphelins, le mal tout grand qu'il est seroit-il sans remède, il est entre les mains de Votre Grandeur des ressources de dédommagement et de consolation, et j'ose les espérer, nous trouver ainsi exclus de l'Ouest, ce seroit nous trouver dépouillés avec la dernière cruauté d'une espèce d'héritage

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useless to Monsieur de Saint-Pierre. I explained to him fully how I believed I could serve him ; and clever as he may be and crediting him with the best intentions, I venture to say that he is in danger of making many mistakes and often getting on the wrong track by keeping us away. It is something gained to have gone astray before [and found out your error] ; and it seems to us that we should now be sure of the right road to follow to reach the goal, whatever it may be. It is our greatest cause of distress to find ourselves thus snatched away from a sphere of action in which we were proposing to use every effort to reach a definite result.

Deign therefore, Monseigneur, to judge the cause of three orphans. Great as is our misfortune, is it without remedy ? There are in the hands of Your Highness resources of compensation and consolation, and I venture to hope for some benefit from them. To find ourselves thus excluded from the west would be to find ourselves robbed in the most

dont nous aurions eü toutte l'amertume et dont d'autres auroient toutes les douceurs.

J'ay l'honneur d'être avec un profond respect, de Votre Grandeur

Le très humble et très obéissant serviteur

CHR. DE LAVERENDRYE.

A M. le M[arqu]is de la Jonquiere.

A V[ersai]lles le 6 juin 1751.

M.

J'ai fait usage des prop[ositi]ons que vous avés faites pour les emplois qui estoient vacans dans les troupes de Canada.

La Majorité des Trois-Rivières qui vaquoit par la mort du Sr Coulon de Villiers a esté donnée au Sr De Noyelle Cap[itai]ne.

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cruel manner of a species of heritage of which we should have had all that was bitter and others all that was sweet.

I have the honour to be with profound respect of Your Lordship the very humble and very obedient servant,

CHR[1] DE LA VÉRENDRYE.

Rouillé to La Jonquière.

Versailles, June 6, 1751.

Monsieur,

I have adopted the proposals made by you for filling the vacancies in the Canadian troops.

The majority at Three Rivers vacant by the death of the Sieur Coulon de Villiers[2] has been given to the Sieur de

[1] Chevalier.

[2] Louis Coulon de Villiers (1710–1757), for sketch of whom see *Wis. Hist. Coll.* v. 119. Among his other adventures, he received the surrender of George Washington at fort Necessity.

Il vaquoit deux comp[agn]ies par la mort des Srs de Croizille et de La Verandrye ; et l'avancement du Sr de Noyelle en a fait vaquer une 3^e^. Il y en a une qui a esté donnée au Sr Chambon Vergor cap[itain]e dans les Trouppes de l'Isle Royalle, qui a demandé, co[mm]e vous savés, a passer au service de Canada ; et les deux autres ont esté accordées aux Srs Beaujeu de Villemande et ch[evali]er de Ligneris. . . .

Noyelles, captain. There were two companies vacant by the death of the Sieurs de Croisille and de la Vérendrye ; and the promotion of the Sieur de Noyelles has caused another vacancy. One of these has been given to the Sieur Chambon Vergor,[1] captain in the troops at Isle Royale, who, as you know, applied to be transferred to Canada ; and the two others have been bestowed upon the Sieurs Beaujeu de Villemonde [2] and Chevalier des Ligneris.[3]

[1] Louis Dupont, Sieur du Chambon de Vergor ; born 1710 ; surrendered Fort Beauséjour to the English, 1757 ; in 1759, thanks to his lack of vigilance, Wolfe and his army gained the heights above L'Anse au Foulon. See Marmette's note, *Canadian Archives Report*, 1887, p. cclix.

[2] Louis Liénard, Sieur de Beaujeu et de Villemonde (1716–1802). See sketch in *Wis. Hist. Coll.* xviii. 84–5.

[3] François Marchand des Ligneris (1704–1760). See sketch in *Wis. Hist. Coll.* xviii. 106–7.

APPENDIX

ORDONNANCE.

Gilles Hocquart, etc.

Entre François Marie Soumande de Lorme, negociant en cette ville, Demandeur en requeste de Nous repondue le jour d'hier present en personne, d'une part.

Et Loüis Daillebоust, Ecuyer S[ieur] de Coulonge Deffendeur et assigné sur lad[ite] requeste aussi present en personne, d'autre part.

Vû lad[ite] requeste contenant que Pierre Gautier, Ecuyer, S[ieur] de la Veranderie, Lieutenant d'une Compagnie des troupes du Detachement de la Marine en ce pays, detaché pour la decouverte de la Mer de l'Ouest luy auroit le trente un May de l'année dernière consenty une obligation de la somme de six mille six cent quatre vingt treize livres douze sols, six deniers pour marchandises à luy fournies par

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ORDINANCE.

Gilles Hocquart, etc.

Between François Marie Soumande de Lorme,[1] trader of this town, Plaintiff, present in person, making petition, answered by us, this day, of the one part.

And Louis d'Ailleboust, Esquire, Sieur de Coulonges,[2] Defendant, and summoned in the said petition, also present in person, of the other part.

Whereas the said petition, alleging that Pierre Gaultier, Esquire, Sieur de la Vérendrye, Lieutenant of a Company of the troops of the Detachment of the Marine in this country, detailed for the discovery of the Western Sea, did, on the thirty-first of May of last year, contract an obligation to the amount of six thousand six hundred and ninety-three livres, twelve sols and six deniers[3] for merchandise furnished

[1] Born Montreal 1705; married in 1734 Elizabeth, daughter of Jacques-René Gaultier de Varennes. He was therefore nephew-in-law of the elder La Vérendrye.

[2] Born 1699; son of Louis Coulonges de la Madeleine and great-grandson of Nicolas de Coulonges de la Madeleine, brother of the Governor, Louis d'Ailleboust de Coulonges; died 1756.

[3] The livre corresponds to the modern franc, and is equivalent to about 20 cents; the sou or sol was one-twentieth of a livre, and the denier one-twelfth of a sol.

led[it] demandeur pour l'exploitation et commerce qu'il alloit faire dans les pays d'en haut, lad[ite] obligation payable dans tout le cours du mois d'Aoust de la presente année ou plutost si ses pelleteries et effets descendoient en cette ville que led[it] S[ieur] de la Veranderie en partant luy promit parole d'honneur de luy envoyer aussitost son arrivée dans les pays d'en haut mille livres pezant de castor avec une canotée de pelleteries a compte du montant de lad[ite] obligation pour a laquelle parole d'honneur satisfaire led[it] S[ieur] de la Veranderie s'est contenté d'envoyer aud[it] demandeur lesd[ites] mille livres de castor avec ordre en même temps d'en employer une partie à acquitter ses creanciers et payer les billets qu'il tiroit sur luy, ce que le demandeur a executé de bonne foy dans l'espérance que s'estoient les seuls creanciers dud[it] S[ieur] de la Veranderie et qu'il recevroit son payement cette année, mais led[it] demandeur ayant apris que led S[ieur] de la Veranderie en avoit encor et anterieurement a son obligation, consenti une autre en faveur dud[it] deffendeur payable à Missilimakinac ce qui est contre l'usage ordinaire du commerce de cette colonie, et sçachant d'ailleurs que led[it] deffendeur n'a pas plus de privilege que luy demandeur ayant egalement et dans le même temps equipé led[it] S[ieur] de la Veranderie, il n'est pas

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to him by the said plaintiff for the exploitation and commerce which he was going to carry on in the upper country, the said obligation being payable at any time in the month of August of the present year, or earlier if his peltries and effects came down to this town [earlier]; that the said Sieur de la Vérendrye, on leaving, promised on his word of honour to send him immediately on his arrival in the upper country a thousand pounds weight of beaver, with a canoe-load of peltries on account of the amount of the said obligation in order to fulfil his said word of honour; [that] the said Sieur de la Vérendrye confined himself to sending to the said plaintiff the said thousand pounds of beaver with instructions at the same time to employ a part of it to satisfy his creditors and pay the bills which he was drawing on him, the which the plaintiff carried out in good faith in the hope that these were the only creditors of the said Sieur de la Vérendrye, and that he would receive his payment this year; but the said plaintiff having learned that the Sieur de la Vérendrye had besides and previously to his obligation to him contracted another in favour of the said defendant payable at Michilimackinac, contrary to the ordinary business usage of this colony; and knowing, besides, that the said defendant has no greater privilege than himself the plaintiff, he having equally and at the same time equipped the said Sieur de la Vérendrye, it is not just

juste qu'il soit payé preferablement a luy, et comme led[it] deffendeur est sur le point de partir pour lesd Pays d'en haut pour recevoir son payement dud[it] S[ieur] la Veranderie, ce qui feroit un tort notable non seulement aud[it] demandeur, mais encore au commerce de cette colonie si de pareilles obligations avoient lieu ; il conclud par lad[ite] requeste a ce qu'il nous plaise luy accorder notre ordonnance portant permission de saisir a ses risques, perils et fortunes toutes les pelleteries que led[it] S[ieur] la Veranderie envoyera a Missilimakinac avec deffenses aud[it] deffendeur de s'en emparer sur les lieux et attendu qu'il n'y a point de jurisdiction ny d'huissier commettre et authoriser le porteur dela procuration dud[it] demandeur pour faire lad[ite] saisie dont et du tout il dressera proces verbal, pour iceluy procès verbal de saisie avec toutes les pelleteries estre envoyés en cette ville pour estre déposes ez magazins du Roy ou entre les mains de telles personnes decette ville qu'il nous plaira nommer a cet effet, estre ensuite lesd[ites] pelleteries, la recette d'icelles prealablement faite en la maniere accoutumée remises à qui par justice il sera ordonné ;

Nôtre ordonnance estant ensuite du unze de ce mois portant soit communiqué au S[ieur] Daillebоust pour en venir ce jourd'huy par devant nous ; signiffication desd[ites] requeste et ordonnance faite a

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that he [the defendant] should be paid preferably to him ; and as the said defendant is on the point of leaving for the upper country to receive payment from the said Sieur de la Vérendrye, and as a notable injury would be done, not only on the said plaintiff, but also to the commerce of this colony if such a practice were permitted, he concluded by the said request that it may please us to give judgment permitting him to seize at his own risk, peril, and chance, all the peltries that the said Sieur de la Vérendrye shall send to Michilimackinac, with prohibition to the said defendant to take possession of them on the spot ; and seeing that there is no jurisdiction or executive officer there, [he asks that we shall] commission and authorize the bearer of the procuration of the said plaintiff to make the said seizure, of which and all of which he will prepare a legal record, the said record of seizure, with all the peltries, to be sent to this town to be deposited in the King's stores, or in the hands of such persons in this town as it shall please us to name for that purpose, the said peltries, after collection of the usual dues, to be delivered to the party to whom they shall be adjudged by legal authority.

Thereon our ordinance of the eleventh of the current month, the Sieur d'Ailleboust to be notified to appear this day before us, signification of the said request and ordinance made at the instance of the

la requeste dud[it] demandeur aud[it] deffendeur, led[it] jour unze de ced[it] mois, avec assignation a ced[it] jour pour repondre et proceder sur les fins et conclusions delad[ite] requeste ; vû aussi l'obligation consentie par led[it] S[ieur] de la Veranderie en faveur dud[it] demandeur passée par M[aître] Le Pallieur, Notaire Royal en la Jurisdiction Royalle de cette ville le trente un May 1738 ;

Autre obligation consentie par led[it] S[ieur] la Veranderie aud[it] deffendeur de la somme de deux mille sept cent quatre vingt sept livres quatre sols, deux deniers pour bonnes marchandises a luy fournies par led[it] deffendeur pour l'exploitation et commerce du Lac des Bois et autres lieux en dependans, lad[ite] obligation passée devant M[aîtr]es Dauré de Blanzy aussi Notaire, le vingt sept du même mois aud[it] an ;

Ouy les parties comparantes, lesquelles estant convenuës devant nous de s'en raporter a des arbitres au sujet de la demande dud[it] S[ieur] Soumande, nous ont requis qu'ils nous plût leur donner acte de la nommination qu'elles font presentement devant nous de leur arbitres, sçavoir de la part dud[it] demandeur de la personne du

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said plaintiff to the said defendant with assignment to appear on the said day to reply and proceed on the purport and conclusions of the said request ; in view also of the obligation contracted by the said Sieur de la Vérendrye in favour of the said plaintiff passed by Maître Le Pailleur,[1] Notary Royal in the Royal Jurisdiction of this town, the thirty-first of May 1738.

A further obligation entered into by the said Sieur de la Vérendrye towards the said defendant for the sum of two thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven livres, four sols and two deniers for good merchandise furnished to him by the said defendant for the exploitation and commerce of the Lake of the Woods, and other places dependent thereon, the said obligation passed also before Maître Dauré de Blanzy,[2] Notary, on the twenty-seventh of the same month in the said year.

Case heard, parties being present who, having agreed before us to accept decision of arbitrators respecting the demand of the said Sieur Soumande, made application to us to certify the nomination they presently make of their arbitrators, to wit, on the part of the said plaintiff, of the person of the Sieur Mailhot,[3] and, on that of the said

[1] François Michel Le Pailleur, born in Paris ; married at Batiscan 1688 ; conseiller du roi, Quebec, until 1703 ; notary in Montreal 1703 to 1733. His son François continued his notarial acts from 1733 to 1739.

[2] De Blanzy, notary in Montreal 1738 to 1760.

[3] Several of this name in Montreal at the period. The one referred to was probably Jean François Mailhot (1692–1756). He was a Montreal merchant, and married, 1724, Charlotte, daughter of Ignace Gamelin.

S[ieur] Mailhot et de celle dud[it] deffendeur du S[ieur] Gamelin, et dans le cas où lesd[its] arbitres seroient d'avis contraire de leur accorder aussi acte de ce qu'ils ont choisy conjoinctement pour sur-arbitre le Sieur Lestage qui pourra même donner son avis avec lesd[its] arbitres, à quoy ayant egard, nous avons donné acte aux parties de lad[ite] nomination et en consequence ordonné que lesd[its] arbitres et sur-arbitre nous donneront cejourd'huy leur avis par ecrit sur la saisie demandée par led[it] S[ieur] Soumande et à l'Instant la requeste à nous presentée par led. S. Soumande, ensemble les obligations enoncées en nôtre présente ordonnance ont esté par nous remises auxd[its] arbitres ;

Et après avoir vû et examiné l'avis desd[its] arbitres qu'ils nous ont cejourd'huy remis et que nous avons paraphé *ne varietur*, Nous ayant egard à lad[ite] requeste dud[it] S[ieur] Soumande, luy avons permis en vertu de son obligation dud[it] jour trente un May 1738, de faire saisir a Missillimakinac a ses risques, périls et fortunes, les pelleteries appartenantes aud. S[ieur] la Veranderie pour estre lesd[ites]

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defendant, of the Sieur Gamelin,[1] and, in case the said arbitrators should disagree, to certify also their joint choice as chief arbitrator of Sieur Lestage,[2] who shall be at liberty even to give his opinion with the arbitrators ; order given accordingly that the said arbitrators and sub-arbitrators shall give us this day their opinion in writing on the seizure demanded by the said Sieur Soumande, and the petition has been now presented to us by the said Sieur Soumande, and at the same time the obligations mentioned in our present ordinance were by us referred to the said arbitrators.

And after having seen and examined the decision of the said arbitrators which they have this day handed to us, and which we have certified as definitive and unalterable, We, having regard to the said petition of the said Sieur Soumande, have granted him permission, in virtue of the obligation he holds dated the thirty-first day of May, 1738, to effect seizure at Michilimackinac, at his own risk, peril and chance, of the peltries belonging to the Sieur de la Vérendrye, the said

[1] Laurent Eustache Gamelin is described as a ' negociant ' in Montreal in 1740, and may very well be the one mentioned above. He died in Detroit, 1774. Ignace Gamelin, a cousin, married Louise Dufrost de la Jemeraye, 1731. Another cousin, Michel, was a voyageur ' des pays d'en haut.' Still another cousin, Pierre, married Clémence Dufrost de la Jemeraye, 1735.

[2] Pierre Lestage, born Montreal 1715, was a merchant of that town, like his father before him, who bore the name of Despeiroux. The son was seigneur de l'augmentation of Berthier-en-haut in 1733 ; he married at Montreal, in 1737, Madeleine Rivet, and was still living in 1744.

pelleteries conduites en cette ville aux frais de qui il appartiendra et y estre mises en sequestre chez tel Negociant de cette ville dont les parties conviendront, jusqu'à ce qu'il en ait esté autrement ordonné par justice et pour l'exécution de la presente ordonnance, avons authorisé le nommé Bourassa et à son deffaut ou absence le nommé Langlade a faire en cette partie les fonctions d'huissier et en cette qualité procéder a lad[ite] saisie en la maniere accoutumée, de la quelle il sera dressé proces verbal dans lequel proces verbal il sera exprimé la qualité et poids desd[ites] pelleteries saisies, et duquel il sera donné copie aud[it] deffendeur ou a celuy qui sera porteur de sa procuration, le tout sans prejudicier au droit des parties au principal, soit pour la preference ou pour la concurrence qui pourroient estre pretenduës par les parties en vertu de leurs obligations.

Mandons etc,

Fait a Montreal le 12 Juin 1739,

Signé : Hocquart

Pour copie
HOCQUART.

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peltries to be brought to this town at the cost of to whom it may appertain, and be there sequestered in the premises of such merchant of this town as may be agreed upon between the parties, until it shall have been otherwise judicially decided ; and for the execution of the present ordinance we have authorized one Bourassa and, in his default or absence, one Langlade [1] to fulfil in this case the function of bailiff, and in that character to proceed to make the said seizure in the accustomed manner of which legal record shall be drawn up, in which legal record shall be expressed the quality, quantity and weight of the said peltries so seized, and copy of which shall be given to the said defendant or to the bearer of his procuration, the whole without prejudice to the rights of the parties on the main issue, either as regards any preference, or competitive claims put forward by the parties in virtue of the obligations they hold.

We order etc.

Done at Montreal the 12th June, 1739.

Signed : Hocquart.

For copy,
HOCQUART.

[1] René Bourassa. See foot-note, p. 212. His daughter Charlotte married Charles Langlade, son of Augustin Mouet or Moëtte, Sieur de Langlade, who is probably referred to here. For biographical sketch of the father, see *Wis. Hist. Coll.* viii. 124 ; and for the son, see *Wis. Hist. Coll.* iii. 195–295 ; vii. 123–88 ; viii. 209–23 ; xvii. 130–32.

A M. le Marquis de Beauharnois.

A Marly le 26 Avril 1741.

. . . Quant a la discution occasionnée par les pretentions du S^r. De Lorme sur ce mesme off[ici]er, je sens qu'il pourroit y avoir de l'inconvenient a laisser etendre l'usage de la procedure ord[inai]re jusques dans les païs d'en haut; Mais cela demande neanmoins quelque explica[ti]on, car il ne conviendroit pas non plus que les voyageurs fussent affranchis des regles judiciaires pour toutes les aff[ai]res q[u'i]ls pourroient avoir soit entr'eux, soit avec des Neg[ocian]s, ou autres particuliers. Pour me mettre en estat de f[air]e un reglement qui puisse concilier ces objets, il est a propos que vous m'expliquiés l'usage qui s'est pratiqué a cet egard; et je vous prie d'ajouter a cette explica[ti]on vostre avis sur les differens cas qui peuvent se presenter. J'ecris a M. Hocquart de m'envoyer les mesmes ecclaircissemens de sa part; et si vous pouviés vous concerter ensemble sur cela, j'en serois plus en estat de vous f[air]e sçavoir les intentions du Roy. Je ne puis cependant, sur le detail que vous me faites de ce qui s'est passé a l'occasion de l'aff[air]e d'entre le S^r. de La Verendrye et Delorme, qu'approuver le party que vous avés pris. C'est ainsy que je m'en

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Maurepas to Beauharnois.

Marly, April 26, 1741.

Monsieur,

. . . As to the dispute that has arisen out of the claims made by the Sieur de Lorme upon the officer in question, I feel that it might be inexpedient to allow ordinary judicial procedure to be extended into the western country. That, however, requires some explanation, because on the other hand it would never do to let travellers in that region escape legal liabilities arising out of their business relations either with one another, with merchants, or with other individuals. In order that I may be enabled to frame a regulation that will guard both points, I should have from you an explanation of the practice so far followed in this respect; and I beg of you to add thereto your own opinion on the different cases which may arise.

I am writing to M. Hocquart to send me similar information from his standpoint; and if you and he could come to some agreement in the matter it would be easier for me to acquaint you with the King's conclusions. Judging by your account of what took place on the occasion of the affair between the Sieur de la Vérendrye and de Lorme, I can only approve of the course you took. This is the ground I am

explique avec M. Hocquart qui ne m'a point parlé de cette aff[air]e et a qui je ne dis pas non plus que vous m'en ayés ecris. Mais je vous exôrte d'en agir de maniere qu'il n'y ayt point d'alterca[ti]on entre vous. L'experience a deû vous f[air]e connoitre combien il est important a tous esgards que vous soyés en bonne intelligence avec l'Intendant ; et independ[ammen]t de vostre interêt personnel qui s'y trouve, vostre zele p[ou]r le service du Roy ne me permet pas de douter que vous n'evitiés avec soin tout ce qui pourroit donner atteinte a cette union. . . .

Dup^ta A M. Hocquart.

A Marly le 27 Avril 1741.

J'ay esté informé, M. d'une aff[air]e qu'il y a eu entre les Srs De la Verendrye et Delorme et sur laquelle vous aviés rendu une ord[onnan]ce dont l'off[ici]er commandant à Missilimakinac a empesché l'ex[écuti]on ; et par le detail qui m'a esté fait de cette aff[air]e je comprens qu'il pourroit estre necess[ai]re de f[aire] un arrangement qui en assûrant l'ex[écuti]on des jugemens qui pourront estre rendus soit par l'Intend[an]t, soit par les Juges ord[inai]res sur les aff[air]es des

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taking with M. Hocquart, who has not mentioned the matter to me, and whom I am not informing that you wrote to me about it. But I strongly advise you to manage so that there shall be no disagreement between you. Experience must have proved to you how important it is that there should be a good understanding between yourself and the Intendant ; and, apart from the personal interest you have in this, your zeal for the service of the King makes it impossible for me to doubt that you will carefully avoid anything which might impair your good relation with that officer. . . .

Maurepas to Hocquart.

Marly, April 27, 1741.

I have been informed, Sir, of a difficulty that has arisen between the Sieurs de la Vérendrye and de Lorme in regard to which you issued an order, the execution of which was stayed by the officer commanding at Michilimackinac ; and, from the facts as presented to me, I infer that it may be necessary to make some arrangement which, while ensuring the execution of any judgments rendered either by the Intendant or by the ordinary courts, relating to the business affairs

voyageurs, previenne aussy les altercations qui pourroient en resulter par raport aux postes des païs d'en haut ; car si d'un costé il pourroit y avoir de l'inconvenient à laisser trop etendre l'usage de la procedure ord[inai]re dans ces païs là, il ne conviendroit pas non plus que les voyageurs fussent affranchis des regles judiciaires pour toutes les affaires qu'ils pourroient avoir soit entr'eux soit avec leurs Equipeurs ou d'autres particuliers.

C'est pour concilier ces objets que je souhaite que vous m'expliquiés l'usage qui s'est pratiqué jusqu'a p[rese]nt a cet esgard, et que vous ajoutiés a cette explica[ti]on vostre avis sur les differens cas qui peuvent se presenter. Si vous pouviés vous concerter sur cela avec M. le M[arqu]is de Beauharnois, j'en serois bien plus en estat de vous f[air]e sçavoir les intentions du Roy.

Au reste co[mm]e vous ne m'avés rien ecrit sur l'aff[air]e du Sr de le Verendrye, je juge qu'elle n'aura pas eu de suite ; et il seroit inutile dans ce cas lâ de la reveiller. Il faut surtout eviter les altercations ; et je ne puis pas douter que vous n'y donniés de vostre costé toute l'attention dont vous estes capable.

Je suis, M. en[t]. a vous.

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of travellers, may also have the effect of preventing disputes that might arise in connection with the posts of the western country ; for if, on the one hand, it might not be expedient to extend too far the use of the ordinary procedure in those regions, neither would it be expedient to exempt such travellers from the application of judicial procedure to such business as they might have with one another, or their outfitters, or other private individuals.

It is for the purpose of reconciling these different objects that I desire you to explain to me the practice that has been so far followed in this respect, and that you will add to this explanation your own opinion on the different cases that might arise. If you could do this in concert with the Marquis de Beauharnois, I should be in a better position to give you the views of the King on the question.

As you have not brought this matter of the Sieur de la Vérendrye to my notice, I conclude that nothing came of it, and that it would be useless to revive it. Disputes must be avoided, and I am sure you will do your best on your side to prevent them.

I am, Sir, etc.

[*Lettre de Monsieur Hocquart à Québec le 27 Septembre* 1741.]

Monseigneur,

J'ay reçû la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 27 Avril d[erni]er au sujet d'une affaire entre le S[ieur] de Lorme et le [Sieur] Daillebout tous deux Equipeurs du S[ieur] la Verendrye ; l'affaire estoit bien simple, il n'estoit question que d'une saisie conservatoire comme vous le verrez par la copie du jugement que je rendis alors.

Voicy en peu de mots la difficulté qui se passa entre M[onsieur] le General et moy a cette occasion.

Les parties ayant comparu au jour de l'assignation, le S[ieur] Daillebout deffendeur excipa que M[onsieur] le General avoit connû de cette affaire et l'avoit reglée ; le S[ieur] de Lorme repliqua qu'il estoit vray qu'il luy avoit presenté un placet, mais qu'il n'avoit rien decidé et qu'au contraire il luy avoit dit de se pourvoir par les voyes de la Justice ordinaire, les parties contestoient vivement ; le S[ieur] de Lorme avoit un interest visible à ce que les pelleteries du S[ieur]

Hocquart to Maurepas.

Quebec, September 27, 1741.

Monseigneur,

I have received the letter you did me the honour to write me on the twenty-seventh of April last respecting a matter between the Sieur de Lorme and the Sieur d'Ailleboust, both furnishers of the Sieur de la Vérendrye. The affair was a very simple one involving only a precautionary seizure, as you will see by the copy of the judgment which I rendered at the time.

Let me explain in a few words the difficulty which arose between the General [1] and myself on that occasion.

The parties having appeared on the day appointed, the Sieur d'Ailleboust, the defendant, raised an objection on the ground that the General had taken cognizance of the affair and had settled it. The Sieur de Lorme replied that it was true that he had presented a petition to him, but that he had not come to any decision, and that on the contrary he had told him to proceed in the usual legal manner. The parties were contesting the point keenly : the Sieur de Lorme was plainly interested in having the peltries of the Sieur de la Vérendrye

[1] Charles, Marquis de Beauharnois.

la Verendrye descendissent a Montreal, c'estoit son gage comme equipeur ; le S[ieur] Daillebout autre Equipeur dans la même année pretendoit devoir estre payé à Michilimakinac en vertu d'une obligation dont il estoit porteur qui renfermoit cette clause :

Sur l'allegation du S[ieur] Daillebout, je me rendis deux fois chez M[onsieur] le General, il ne goûta point le procédé du S[ieur] de Lorme et me dit que les parties s'estoient accommodées devant luy, que c'estoit une affaire finië. soit que le S[ieur] de Lorme ne l'eût pas entendû ainsy ou qu'il se fut mal expliqué avec M[onsieur] le Marquis de Beauharnois, il persista opiniatrement a me demander justice ; je priay M[onsieur] le General que j'avois vû un peu ému de me mettre à l'abry du reproche que je la pusse dénier, en reglant luy même sommairement le differend au bas du placet, je luy dis que j'en serois content, qu'il le pouvoit faire, que ce seroit ma decharge, et comme je le pressois un peu il me dit qu'il ne s'opposoit a rien ou quelque chose de semblable ; je voyois la bonne foy du S[ieur] de Lorme et la voye oblique et inusitée dans le commerce des équipements dont le S[ieur] Daillebout, et même le S[ieur] La Verendrye s'estoient servi ;

Ce fut dans ces circonstances que je rendis mon ordonnance qui

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come down to Montreal, as they were his pledge as furnisher ; the Sieur d'Ailleboust, who had supplied goods in the same year, claimed to be paid at Michilimackinac in virtue of an obligation which he held and which contained a clause to that effect.

Upon the allegation made by the Sieur d'Ailleboust I went twice to see the General. He did not like the action the Sieur de Lorme was taking, and said that the parties had come to an understanding in his presence, and that the case was closed. Whether it was that the Sieur de Lorme had not understood the matter so, or that he had not explained himself rightly to the Marquis de Beauharnois, he persisted obstinately in demanding justice of me. I begged the General, whom I had observed to be a little excited, to screen me from the reproach of having denied justice by settling the dispute summarily by a memorandum at the foot of the placet. I told him I should be highly pleased if he could see his way to doing it, as it would free me from responsibility, and as I was urging him a little he said that he did not object to anything, or something like that. I perceive the good faith with which the Sieur de Lorme was acting and the crooked and unusual course which the Sieur d'Ailleboust, and even the Sieur de la Vérendrye, was acting in the equipment business.

It was in these circumstances that I rendered my judgment, which

fut conforme a l'avis des arbitres nommez par les parties : je n'ay pû comprendre pourquoy la chose a deplû ; cette ordonn[an]ce ne blessant en rien l'authorité de M[onsieur] le General. j'ay sçû qu'il avoit esté ordonné au Commandant de Michilimakinac d'empêcher l'execution de ce Jugement mais que [Monsieur] le General avoit rendu justice dans une autre forme au S[ieur] de Lorme en le faisant payer par le S[ieur] la Verendrye ; pour ne point donner matiere a des explications inutiles j'ay pretendu cause d'ignorance du tout.

Il y avoit deux objets dans la decision de la question, le premier estoit l'intérest personnel de chacune des parties, le second estoit de fortifier un usage etabli, que les voyageurs doivent apporter a Montreal les pelleteries de leur traite pour le sureté des Equipeurs ; ce seroit authoriser leur mauvaise foy, si en prenant plusieurs Equipeurs, ils avoient la liberté de favoriser a leur gré ceux qu'ils jugeroient à propos : en payant les uns dans les pays d'en haut avec leurs pelleteries, les autres qui attendroient inutilement les retours a Montreal, se trouveroient frustrez de tout payement.

M[essieurs] les Commandants des Postes sont en usage de composer et de terminer les differends qui surviennent entre les voyageurs, il n'y a point d'autres juges auxquels ils puissent s'adresser ; ce n'est

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was in conformity with the decision of the arbitrators named by the parties. I have not been able to understand how the thing came to give offence, as the ordinance in question in no way impaired the authority of the General. I learnt that orders had been given to the commandant at Michilimackinac to prevent the execution of the judgment, but that he had done justice in another form to the Sieur de Lorme by causing him to be paid by the Sieur de la Vérendrye. In order not to give occasion for useless explanations I pretended ignorance of the whole business.

There were two things at stake in the decision of the question : the first was the personal interest of each of the parties ; the second was to strengthen an established usage according to which voyageurs are required to bring the peltries in trade to Montreal for the security of the furnishers ; it would be countenancing their bad faith if, getting supplies from different dealers, they were at liberty to favour certain parties, just as they pleased, by paying them in the upper country, while the others, idly awaiting the arrival of consignments at Montreal, would find themselves disappointed of all payment.

The commandants of posts are accustomed to arrange and settle differences arising between voyageurs ; there are no other judges there to whom these could address themselves ; but the difficulty

point là l'espèce entre les S[ieurs] de Lorme et Daillebout qui se trouvoient a Montreal Equipeurs et non voyageurs, à portée de faire prononcer sans frais sur leur differend par l'Intendant, la saisie conservatoire devoit se faire a Michilimakinac par le Ministere d'un huissier commis ; bien loin que le Commandant du Poste eut dû y apporter aucun empeschement, le bon ordre et le bien de la justice auroient demandé qu'à la requisition de la partie interessée, sur l'exhibition du titre, il eut appuyé de son authorité le jugement rendu par l'Intendant.

L'usage est constant que l'Intendant a connu par luy même ou par les subdelegues qu'il a commis *ad hoc* de plusieurs differends entre des particuliers residens au Detroit, et autres personnes qui avoient des intérests dans ce Poste ; je vous en raporteray seulem[ent] Monseigneur, 4 ou 5 exemples.

. . . . . .

Les Juges ordinaires n'exercent aucune jurisdiction dans les Postes ; il n'y a que l'Intendant qui puisse y etablir des sub-deleguez et des ministres inferieurs de la justice pour des affaires telles ou semblables a celles dont je viens de rendre compte ; les procedures judiciaires qui s'y font par cette voye sont courtes et se font sans frais.

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between the Sieurs de Lorme and d'Ailleboust was not a case of the kind : these parties were both at Montreal ; dealers in supplies and not voyageurs, within reach of a decision by the Intendant on their differences without any cost. The seizure for safe keeping ought to have been made at Michilimackinac through an authorized bailiff, and, far from the commandant of the post interfering therewith, good order and the interests of justice would have required him, on the requisition of the interested party and the production of the order, to support by his authority the judgment rendered by the Intendant.

It is well established that the Intendant has taken cognizance, either personally or through persons delegated by him *ad hoc*, of many differences between private individuals residing at Detroit and other persons who had interests in that post. I shall give you, Monseigneur, only four or five examples. . . . . .

The ordinary judges exercise no jurisdiction in the posts ; it is only the Intendant who can appoint delegates and inferior ministers of justice for cases such as or similar to those of which I have just given you an account ; the judicial proceedings which follow this course are brief and involve no costs.

Les Postes du Detroit et de Michilimakinac sont composez de gens domiciliez et de voyageurs, le premier est le rendez-vous des Postes du Sud, et l'autre des Postes du Nord ; les pelleteries des fermiers de tous les Postes passent par ces deux endroits, ainsy que les canots qu'ils amenent ou qu'ils envoyent de Montreal : ce concours donne occasion a bien des difficultés qui surviennent qui sont terminées pour l'ordinaire par l'authorité des commandants ; mais s'il est question d'une affaire d'interest entre un voyageur ou domicilié, et un marchand equipeur de Montreal et qui soit un peu grave par ses circonstances, je crois qu'il convient que les Equipeurs qui sont ordinairement la partie lesée ayent la liberté de s'adresser à l'Intendant, s'ils le jugent a propos, comme ils ont fait par le passé, on doit le supposer bien intentionné et capable de prendre les voyes les plus convenables pour concilier des parties.

A l'egard des autres Postes comme ils sont affermez, ou même exploitez par les officiers qui y commandent, les interests n'estant point divisez, il se trouve peu de matiere de contestation, si ce n'est entre les Engagez pour des rixes ou de petits interests de pacotille, ou autres matieres personnelles legeres.

Le Juge de Montreal connoist de toutes les contestations qui

The posts of Detroit and Michilimackinac are composed of people settled there and of voyageurs. The first is the rendezvous for the posts of the south and the other for the posts of the north, and the peltries of the farmers of all the posts pass through these two places, as well as the canoes that they bring with them or that they send from Montreal. The gathering of so many people at these two points gives rise to many difficulties which, as a general thing, are settled by the authority of the commandants ; but if the question is one between a voyageur or a domiciled individual and a supply merchant of Montreal, and if the attendant circumstances give it some measure of importance, I think it proper that the supply merchants, who are generally the parties injured, should have the right to appeal to the Intendant, it they consider it advisable, as they have done in the past ; and it is only fair to suppose that officer to be well intentioned and capable of adopting the most suitable means for reconciling the parties.

As regards the other posts, inasmuch as they are farmed out or even exploited by the officers in command, there is no division of interest, and consequently little matter of contention except between the hired men, and the trouble is personal, arising out of quarrels or their own little private ventures or other slight personal matters.

The judge at Montreal takes cognizance of all the disputes that

s'elevent entre les marchands equipeurs, et les fermiers et voyageurs lorsque ces derniers sont de retour a Montreal, ils prononce les saisies, les main levées ou la vente des Pelleteries, il adjuge la preference ou la concurrence a ceux des Equipeurs qui sont dans l'un ou l'autre cas, il prononce les condamnations contre les debiteurs pour raison de leurs obligations, il ordonne des estimations et de toutes autres affaires d'interests circonstances et dependances entre tous ceux qui se meslent du commerce des pays d'en haut. chaque année plusieurs de ces affaires viennent par appel au conseil Superieur.

Il est arrivé quelquefois que M[onsieur] le General a terminé par son authorité quelques uns de ces differends particulierement lorsqu'ils se sont élevez entre les officiers commandants et exploitants les postes, et leurs Equipeurs.

Je suis très persuadé qu'il a toujours suivi scrupuleusement les principes d'équité qui reglent ses demarches ; il n'auroit point cet embarras, s'il estoit deffendu aux Command[an]ts et a tous autres officiers employez dans les Postes d'y faire aucun commerce, ils n'y seroient alors occupez qu'a maintenir la subordination et le bon ordre parmy les françois, a entretenir les sauvages dans les sentiments d'attachement et d'affection pour la Nation, a gagner leur estime, a

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arise between supply merchants and men who farm posts and voyageurs when these latter are back in Montreal ; he authorizes seizures, levies, or the sale of peltries ; he adjudges preference or equality of rights to the supply merchants according to the circumstances of each case ; he pronounces condemnation against debtors by reason of their obligations ; he orders estimates to be made and deals with all other matters of interest, circumstances and relations between all persons who are concerned in the commerce of the upper country. Every year some of those cases come before the Superior Council on appeal.

It has happened sometimes that the General has settled by his own authority some of these differences, particularly when they have arisen between commanding officers and parties exploiting the post and those from whom they have obtained their supplies.

I am thoroughly persuaded that he has always followed scrupulously those principles of equity which govern his actions. He would not have any trouble of this kind if commandants and all other officers employed in the posts were forbidden to engage in commerce. They would then be entirely occupied with maintaining subordination and good order among the French, in cultivating sentiments of attachment and affection for our nation among the savages, in gaining their

proteger le commerce des voyageurs : toutes ces vues ne peuvent gueres s'accorder avec des vuës d'interest, les sauvages en montrent l'exemple, leurs chefs sont les plus desinteressez.

L'article que je viens de toucher merite, Monseigneur, que vous vouliez bien y donner votre attention ; au surplus, l'affaire qui vous a donné occasion de m'écrire n'a eû aucune suitte ; j'ay crû qu'il estoit inutile d'en parler à M[onsieur] le General et de la reveiller, je sçay qu'il pense toujours de la même maniere.

Je prends la liberté de vous assurer que dans le plan que je me suis fait, je ne prevois pas qu'il puisse arriver aucunes altercations entre nous, et c'est sans effort que je continueray d'apporter toute l'attention nécessaire pour les prevenir.

Je suis avec un tres profond respect, Monseigneur
Votre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur
HOCQUART.

A Quebec Le 27^{e} Septembre 1741.

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esteem, in protecting the commerce of the voyageurs, objects which accord but ill with views of self-interest. The savages show us a good example ; their chiefs are more disinterested than ours.

The point on which I have just touched, Monseigneur, is deserving of your attention. I have only to add that the affair which gave you occasion to write to me has not gone any further. I considered that it was useless to stir it up by speaking to the General about it, knowing him to be still of the same mind on the subject.

I take the liberty of assuring you that, following out the plan of action I have laid down for myself, I do not foresee any possibility of altercations arising between us, and I shall have no difficulty in continuing to use all necessary care to prevent them.

I am, with very profound respect, Monseigneur,
Your very humble and very obedient servant,
HOCQUART.

A Mrs. de Beauharnois et Hocquart.

A fon[taineble]au le 17 Avril 1742.

Mrs.

Par un memoire que le S[r] Natan de lamarque Neg[ocian]t de Montreal m'a remis tant pour luy que pour le S[r] Gamelin son associé, il a representé qu'en consequence d'un accommodement fait entre Eux et le S[r] de la Verendrye, celuy cy s'etoit engagé par une transaction du 12 9[bre]. 1740 a leur faire remettre dans un certain tems 75 pacquets de Castor, en dedommagement des pertes qu'ils pretendent avoir souffertes sur les fournitures qu'ils luy ont faites pour son Entreprise de la decouverte de la mer de L'ouest ; mais que quelque avantageux que cet accommodement ait eté pour le S[r] de la Verendrye Il ne s'est cependant pas mis en peine d'y satisfaire et ne leur a remis que 9 pacquets de Castor ; ce qui leur cause un prejudice considerable. Il est juste que vous tassiez verifier si les plaintes de ces deux negociants sont fondées, et que dans ce cas vous leur donniez la protection dont Ils auront besoin pour obliger le S[r] de la Verendrye a se mettre en regle avec Eux.

Je suis parfaitement.

Maurepas to Beauharnois and Hocquart.

Fontainebleau, April 17, 1742.

Messieurs,

A memorial which Sieur Natan de Lamarque,[1] merchant of Montreal, has sent me on his own behalf, and that of his partner, the Sieur Gamelin, sets forth that, pursuant to an arrangement made between themselves and the Sieur de la Vérendrye, the latter had bound himself by a document dated the 12th November 1740 to deliver to them within a certain time 75 packages of beaver skins, by way of compensation for losses which they claim to have suffered upon the outfitting of his expedition for the discovery of the Western Sea ; but that, advantageous as this arrangement was for the Sieur de la Vérendrye, he has taken no trouble to comply with its terms, and has only sent them nine packages of beaver, with the result to them of considerable loss. It is just that you should investigate the complaints of these merchants ; and, in case you should find that they are well founded, that you should give them the protection they need, and oblige the Sieur de la Vérendrye to make things right with them.

I am, etc.

[1] This should evidently read 'Nolan de Lamarque.' See footnote, p. 261.

Québec, le 12 Octobre 1742.

A. M. de Maurepas.

Monseigneur,

. . . . . .

Le Sieur de Verchères me marque le neuf Septembre dernier qu'il a fait payer au Sieur Lamarque et Compagnie les cinquante six pacquets que le Sieur de la Vèrendrye devoit à leur société, et qu'il en a fait remettre vingt quatre autres au Sieur Legras pour les marchandises que cette Société avoit laissé dans les postes de l'ouest, ainsy Monseigneur cette affaire s'est consommée en vertu de l'ordre que j'ay donné dont j'ay eû l'honneur de vous envoyer copie. . . .

Beauharnois.

Beauharnois to Maurepas.

Quebec, October 12, 1742.

Monseigneur,

. . . . . .

The Sieur de Verchères[1] informs me under date the ninth of September last that he has paid over to the Sieur Lamarque and Company the fifty-six packages which the Sieur de la Vérendrye owed to their firm, and that he has had twenty-four others sent to the Sieur Legras for the merchandise which that company had left in the posts of the west. Consequently, Monseigneur, that affair has been settled in virtue of the order which I gave and of which I had the honour to send you a copy. . . .

Beauharnois.

[1] Jean-Baptiste Jarret, Sieur de Verchères (1687–1752), brother of the heroic Madeleine who defended her father's fort against the Iroquois. The brother was ensign in 1710, in command at La Baye 1747, and at fort Frontenac 1751.

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